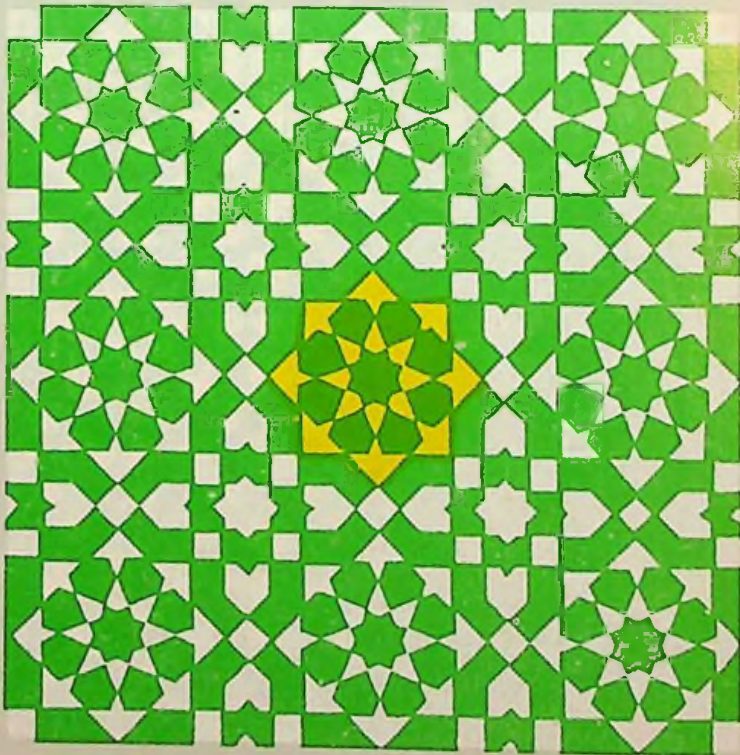


# Muhammad **THE UMMĪ NABĪ**

**- Some Glimpses of his  
Multi - Dimensional  
Personality**

**PROF. DR. YUSUF ABBAS HASHMI**



**Dr. I. H. Qureshi Chair  
University of Karachi.**

**MUHAMMAD, عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ**

# **THE *UMMĪ NABĪ***

**- SOME GLIMPSES OF HIS  
MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PERSONALITY**

by

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"And lower unto them the wing of submission through mercy, and say:  
(My) Rabb! Have mercy on them as they did care for me (when I was)  
little".

( al-Qur'an, 17:24 )

### **To my father**

**who lived a contented and intellectual life within the  
bounds of Sharī'at Muḥammadiyah and remained  
surrounded by the love and respect of dozens of children  
some of whom were already grandparents.**

And lower growth in the rate of innovation (that is,  $\mu$ ) and the

(4571, 4572, 4573)

RECEIVED

Some of the more serious consequences of the war on the environment are the following:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا الَّذِي لَهُ مُلْكُ السَّمَوَاتِ  
وَالْأَرْضِ إِلَهُ الْأَعْلَى وَيُعِذُّ فَأَمَّا يَا لِي وَرَسُولِهِ النَّبِيُّ الْأُمِّيَّ الَّذِي  
يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَكَلِمَاتِهِ وَاتَّبَعُوهُ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ ﴿٥٠﴾

"And declare ( O Muḥammad ) : O Mankind! Verily I am the Rasūl of Allah to you all (collectively) --- (the Rasūl) of Him unto Whom (belongs) the Sovereignty of the heavens and the earth.

There is none 'to be adored' (*Ilah*) except He.

He (alone) brings forth to life and causes death.

So (do) believe in Allah and in His Rasūl, the unlettered *Ummī* Nabī,

Who (himself initially) believes in Allah and in His words and (as such) follow him that you may haply be guided aright".

(al-Qur'an, 7:157)

صلى الله ومن يحث بعرضه — والطيبون على المبارك احمد

"Allah blesses the auspicious *AḤMAD*  
and (at His behest)  
So do those who go around His Throne of Mercy,  
And all the pure ones".

Ḥassān b. Thābit  
(*raḍiya Allah 'anhō*)

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## INTRODUCTION

It is a pleasure to be requested to write an introduction to Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi's collection of learned papers on aspects of the life of the Holy Prophet of Islam (P.B.U.H.) and certain problems of early Islamic History. Professor Hashmi is one of the distinguished historians of our land. He was for many years Professor and Chairman of the Department of Islamic History at the University of Karachi. After his retirement from that position he served for a little less than five years as Professor at the Dr. I.H. Qureshi Chair at this University. In that capacity he organized several important lectures which were delivered by scholars of international fame. These lectures have since appeared in book form, published by the University of Karachi. He also guided Ph.D. research these including one on Dr. I.H. Qureshi's Political, Historical and Educational Ideas.

Professor Hashmi, who has already made important contributions to studies in Islamic History, is now bringing out a collection of valuable articles on various themes of Islamic History. Five of the articles are focussed on certain issues pertaining to *Sira* or the life of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.). The articles on early Islamic History also contain a valuable paper on Islamic Economic System. These articles undoubtedly constitute an important contribution to Islamic History studies. Besides being erudite they break new ground and offer new interpretation on important issues.

All the conclusions drawn in this book, analysis made and opinions arrived at are based on original sources. Conclusions drawn on the bases of irrefutable evidence should not be termed as 'personal opinion', but, rather, as restatement of facts.

The text and the footnotes are replete with exact and full citations (along with their translations) from al-Qur'an, *ahādīth*, *tafsīr*, *ṭawārīkh* and *ṭabaqāt*. At the same time, the contentions of the 'Islamists' have been ignored nor rejected out of hand, but have been conscientiously subjected to thorough probe and scrutiny. Professor

Hashmi's approach in studying the *SĪRAH* is indeed based on al-Quran and the *SUNNAH*.

The Bibliography, General Index, Qur'anic Index and Glossary have added much to the value of the publication. It is a matter of gratification that the work constitutes the fourth publication of the Dr. I.H. Qureshi Chair at this University. I have no doubt that this work will be found useful by students and stimulating by scholars and specialists of the subject.

Shawwāl, 1411/April-May, 1991

Syed Irtifaq Ali

## FOREWORD

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ وَكَفٰی وَسَلَامٌ عَلٰی عِبَادِهِ الَّذِیْنَ اصْطَفٰ

THERE is an unending literature on the life of Sayyidna Muḥammad ﷺ being produced in various parts of the world in English. The present attempt made by Prof. Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi is a worthy addition to it.

The book is not a biography of the Rasūl ﷺ but it is a recomposition of certain articles written by the author on different aspects of the life and work of Sayyidna Muḥammad ﷺ. Some of these articles were written for different conferences while some of them have already been published in prestigious and academic journals, having a wide range of readership.

I have had the benefit of going through these articles and have found many of them very useful, thought-provoking and scholarly.

The author is well-known in the country for his insight in the history of Islam. Having devoted his life to studying his subject, he is intimately familiar with it - a fact evident from his writings.

Especially so, what he has discussed in the article relating to the marriage of Sayyidah Zainab bint Jaḥsh رَضِيَ اللّٰهُ عَنْهَا with Sayyidna Muḥammad ﷺ; the article investigating the religion of Waraqah bin Nawfal; and the article pertaining to the naval engagement of *Dhātu's - Ṣawarī* reflect his full command over the relevant material available in both original (Arabic) and modern sources (particularly English and German).

The author is fully aware of and familiar with the Western scholarship and its research style. He has criticized certain assumptions of such scholars and has

conscientiously subjected them to thorough scrutiny in an objective and convincing manner.

Like any scholar, Prof. Dr. Hashmi has certain opinions of his own which may or may not be endorsed by others. I, while persuing some of these articles, felt different approaches about some propositions advanced and conclusions drawn by him in the course of his discussions. But the fact remains that he has opened some new vistas for the scholars of history and has provided some new horizons for further study and research.

I hope, therefore, that this book will attract the students and scholars of Islamic History and will be read with interest.

وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ

Dāru'l - 'Ulūm, Korangi      Muḥammad Taqī 'Uṭhmānī  
Ramaḍān, 1411/March, 1991

## Author's Preface

Seven research articles are being presented here. 'Multi- Dimensional Personality', 'Divine Alternative in Political Science' and 'Hijratu'n-Nabi' were read at The Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi. 'Muḥammad (A.S.T.), The Bestower of the Ideal Economic System' was presented to the International *SĪRAH* Conference. 'Zaynab bint Jaḥsh - Her Divorce and Re- marriage' was published in 'Islamic Culture', (Deccan), 'Waraqah bin Nawfal' in JPHS and '*Dhātu's* -*Ṣawānī*' in 'Islamic Quarterly', (London).

The first four articles have been almost re-written, expanded and fully documented. The format of the last three has been retained, but new matter has been added, some revisions made and brought upto date.

In 'Multi-Dimensional Personality' aspects of the characteristics of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), such as '*abd, nabī, muslim, rasūl, malik, khalīfah* and *imām* have been examined. Though he was vouchsafed with all these attributes since birth ( *bi'l - Quwwah* ), but for their purposeful progressive unfoldment and display in space and time ( *bi'l - Fai'l* ) he was to live a life-time with us.

If the Jews and the Christians can dare to discuss 'The Divine Alternative in Political Science' on the basis of Old and New Testaments, fair-play expects for the Muslims a far better claim to demonstrate the same at international forums and to present to mankind the universal *niyābah* / *khalīfah* system of governance and authority ( *sultān* ) . Ten years' accomplishments of the *Ummi* Nabī (A.S.T.) in this domain must always remain as the final political watchword for his Followers.

If the journey to Al-Ṭā'if, the three Pledges of 'Aqabah, the momentous Hijrah and the dictation of the *Kitāb* / *Ṣaḥīfah* (The Constitutional Prescript) are not regarded as isolated events but seen as well-planned and categorical attempts towards the formation of a pious

society and the creation of a righteous political order as a *sine qua non* for the full play of the *dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), the genius of the 'Last Exemplar' ought to be discernible to any unprejudiced mind. As such, 'the conspiracy to "murder plan" ', as put forward by Ibn Ishāq, must ever remain totally incompatible with the grand designs of *Hijratu' n-Nabī*, carried out under Allah's fore-told shields of *nuṣrah* and *fath* .

Captions like 'The Economic System of Qur'an' or 'The Economic System of Islam' present an incomplete assertion and picture. Al- Qur'an is not a book on 'economics' (though, *tibyānan li kulli shaiyin* and *Buṣhra* and *Huda*); and *Al-Islam* being the procedure of submission only, the former was not supposed to meet the entire corresponding requirements in full, while the latter could not have substituted the necessity of a human being. For practical demonstration and actual working of Allah's grand conception of an ideal economic system a 'man of flesh and blood ' was needed to accomplish the task. Such has remained the *ḥikmah* ( *rationale* ) of The Omniscient ( *Al-ʿAlīm* ) . A veteran merchant himself, - honest to the core - Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was the first ruler/economist of the world to work on an ideal economic system.

'Muḥammad' and Islam are not synonyms.

The so-called 'Islamists' regard the divorce and re-marriage issue of Zaynab bint Jaḥsh as a 'great scandal'. The tragedy is that their brushes are dipped in the pigment supplied by al- Wāqidī and his *kātib* Ibn Sa'd. Not only the conjectures of the Islamists were to be thoroughly exposed but also the moral scruples and humanitarian bearings of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) were to be re-affirmed with objectivity and veracity. Alas, that even some Muslim writers felt and still feel interested in the otherwise 'twisted episode' !

The first four articles directly deal with the Rasūl (A.S.T.).

In the article on Zaynab bint Jahsh as the personality of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being directly involved, his initial efforts and the final option were to be examined in detail.

Waraqah b. Nawfal was not the only one of the few literates from the valley of Makkah, but his deep knowledge of the earlier scriptures and his poetical talents demonstrate his high social status at the time of the commencement of the Call ( *ba'thah* ). Well equipped with the knowledge of the prophecy, this octogenarian must have watched with wide open eyes the *amānah* and *sadāqah* properties of the pre-*nabuwah* period of the 'unlettered orphan'. And it is, therefore, no wonder, at least to us, when he hastened to believe in Muḥammad (A.S.T.). Waraqah's supposed 'co- religionists' unnecessarily rejoice in their conjectures.

In its rise to power the *dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) faced three external enemies, the Jews of Madinah and of Khaybar, the 'Ajamīs of Persia (the Sassanids) and the Eastern Christians (the Byzantium). During the very life-time of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) himself the Jews had turned into a non-entity. By the beginning of the *Khilāfah* of 'Uthmān the whole of 'Ajam and Christian Syria came under Muslim domination.

But what about the Christian/Byzantine enmity ?

Who could have visualized better than MUḤAMMAD (A.S.T.), and beyond him his ALLAH the eternal enmity of Christianity against his *dīn* ! As such, (we maintain), two clear *bishārah* (good tidings) of *maghfirah* (forgiveness), first one to the participants in the first ever naval warfare against the Eastern Christians and the second one to the participants in the first ever siege of Constantinople (the city of Qaiyṣar), are *forthcoming*. To us these providential promptings to his followers against Christian designs and threats are his *aḥsān* (beneficence) on them. Has he not been foretold in the Qur'an as *ḥarīṣun 'alaiyikum* (full of concern for you) and *b'il-mōminīna ra'ūfu'r-rahīm* (for the Mōminīn



Compassionate, Merciful) (IX:129) ? [For an incessant period of seventeen years (1176-93) al-Nāṣir al-Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Ayyūbī had to toil hard to save the *dīn* of Muḥammad against the common onslaught of the Western and Eastern Christendom !].

The author has discussed '*Dhātū's* - *Ṣawārī*' in the light of this context alone.

As such, the last two articles do also reflect, in one way or the other, some thought-provoking glimpses of the personality of Muḥammad (A.S.T.).

Verbatim re-productions on *Sīrah*, in seemingly changed forms, even if produced in innumerable numbers, carry no weight and are designated by the 'Islamists' as mere 'apologies'. Unless original sources in Arabic, such as book on *Sīrah*, *ḥadīth* literature, *ṭabaqāt*, *tafasīr* and books on *tarīkh*, are extensively cited in support of our contentions and the hypothesis of the European writers, particularly of those in German and English languages, are rationally examined and scientifically refuted, all our attempts would go unnoticed.

In the following pages the author has tried to apply the Western methodology:

"Judge not, that ye be not judged" (Matthew, VII:1)

Though having deep-rooted conviction / *īmān* (much stronger than ordinary 'belief' and 'faith') in the sublime *nabuwah* / *risālah* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), I have given no place in my humble efforts here to ' *aqū'id* (dogmas).

To employ appropriate abbreviations for the Invocation Formula of 'Blessings' I have adopted of late " A. S. T. ". In Arabic we pronounce either عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ or صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

PBUH stands for 'Peace be upon him', which is in no way even the translation of the first formula (technical translation would be : On him Allah's Blessings and Protection). Others have adopted the abbreviation 'SAW' (*ṣalla 'alaiyhi wa ?* ) which carries far lesser sense. Preferring the 2nd formula " for him Allah's Blessings and (our) submission ", I have adopted 'A' for '*'alaiyhi*', 'S' for *ṣalāt* and 'T' for *taslīm*, dropping the *vaow* of conjunction. That *yusallimū taslīman*, (IV:64) and *sallimū taslīman* (XXXIII : 22), the two famous Qur'anic commands, clearly demand obedience/submission on our part to the *Nabī* / *Rasūl*, has been explained in Chapter II.

I totally refuse to employ the words 'prophet' and 'messenger' for the two Arabic terms '*nabī*' and '*rasūl*', respectively, for the reasons discussed here.

The 2nd Form of *naba'a* is *nabba'a*, meaning 'to tell', 'to inform', 'to advise'. The word '*nabī*' derived from this root, therefore, means 'one informed', and in Qur'anic terminology would mean 'one informed through *waḥī*'. Moreover, *nabī* is a passive voice while 'prophet' is an active voice. In Greek language 'prophet' means 'foreteller', while Qur'an clearly maintains that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was not at all a foreteller ( *kāhin* ) (LII : 29 ).

At times presumably inspired prophecy has played a dubious role in the history of Christianity. There have been Orthodox Christian preachers and mystics who have spoken and acted like prophets, e.g., St. Vincent Ferrer (1350?-1419, Spanish Dominican preacher) and St. Catherine of Siena (1347-80, Italian Dominican nun). Emanuel Swendenborg (1688-1772, a scientist who later on wholly turned to religious study) and Joseph Smith (1805-44, American founder of the Church of Christ of the Latter-Day Saints) are examples of 'prophets' with a Protestant background.

'Messenger' simply is one who is expected to deliver or communicate the message. Having no corresponding

obligations, he may be incapable even to appreciate the message. The Arabic term *rasūl* has a far deeper significance and connotations. Unless the *ḥāmilu'l-waḥī* (recipient of the Divine Revelation, the *Nabī*) himself first believes in and acts as per message (i.e., he turns a *muslim*, the submissive one), how else can he demand from others to obey him ( *ṭa'ā / taṣlīm* ) and to believe in *Al-Anbā'* ? Such functions are never assigned to a poor messenger.

The Qur'anic concepts of *nabuwa* and *risālah* being all-pervading and highly technical, fallacy in the translations thus remains obvious.

If the Muslim *sīrah* writers fail to comprehend the discourtesy of the 'Islamists' in deprecating *nabuwah* and *risālah* implications and dimensions by employing the two inept and misleading terms of 'prophet' and 'messenger', the fault lies with us: Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being brought in line with Ferrer and Swendenborg and being designated as an ordinary 'messenger'!

With apologies to none, I retain both '*Nabī*' and '*Rasūl*' at their corresponding places.

As a single-minded student of the *Sīrah* I remain unconcerned with certain polemics. To me the *Nuṣūṣ* of al-Qur'an, the *Qat'iyyāt* of *al-Sunnah* and the *Taṣrīḥāt* of the '*Ulamā*' *Salaf* are the bed-rocks of my *īmān*. If my analytical quest in seeking the multi-dimensional sublimity of the *Ummī Nabī* (A.S.T.) does not match with certain presumptions, I have hardly anything to add.

Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi Chair was sponsored purely for ' Research in Islamic History '. As such, during the tenure of the present writer three books were produced, namely: *Kitābu' r - Rasūl*; *Sharī'ah, Ummah and Khilāfah*; and *Historical Role of Three Auliya' of South Asia*. The present volume was also to be published under the auspices of the Chair, as mentioned by the

two outgoing Vice-Chancellors in their Forewords to the two latter books mentioned above.

Inclusion of Arabic text is not only costly but also difficult from pasting point of view. But critics being well aware of plagiarism, provision of mere translations may not be sufficient. Moreover, difference in translations and even in the shades of meaning, particularly of passages from Qur'an and *ḥadīth*, being possible, the reader should have the option of comparison and appreciation. Hence copious quotations in Arabic are cited, even in footnotes.

Another problem is that of placement of footnotes. Except that of printing facility, there is no other reason in providing them either at the end of each chapter or just near the end of the book. The inquisitive and investigating admirer should be spared from constant folding and unfolding pages after pages in search of text and corresponding footnotes. As such, the footnotes should rather be provided below the text on the same page.

Not being an unbroken study of the *Sīrah* but dealing with its certain aspects only, the author is well aware of the limited scope of the present attempt. Moreover, conscious of his meager knowledge, he does not partake in the composure destined for those whose attainments in the field are exhaustive but, nevertheless, looks for *Shafā'at* on *Yaum al-Qiyāmah*.

*Shawwāl*, 1411/April-May, 1991

Yusuf Abbas Hashmi

### Acknowledgments

The Director of the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi, had no objection to publish the first three articles. When delivering the lectures there (August, '83) only an outline was presented. As the 4th article was defectively produced by the international *SIRAH* Conference, I reserved the option of re-publishing it in corrected, expanded and well-documented form. For the 5th article, having no reply from the Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan, I felt free to publish it. For the 6th article I got the verbal permission from my teacher Dr. Syed Moi'nul Haq (Editor of JPHS), but subsequently he expired (*inna li Allah wa inna ilayhi raji'un*). The publication of Islamic Quarterly, London, having come to an end since long, the need for permission for the last article did not arise.

I am thankful to my pupil Hafiz, *Farighu' t-Tahsil*, Dr. 'Abdur Rahman (of Mahmud Husain Library, University of Karachi) with whom I discussed several times relevant Arabic books. My thanks are also due to Mr. Ibrahim Saad the Director, Bureau of Composition, Compilation and Translation, for his painstaking efforts and deep interest.

Deep-rooted love of Prof. Dr. Syed Irtifaq Ali for the Rasul (ﷺ), abundant respect for the late Dr. I.H. Qureshi and consideration shown to his retired colleague have, no doubt, facilitated the publication of this research of mine. Hence Prof. Ali deserves my special thanks.

Finally, I am grateful to Mr. Justice Maulana Muḥammad Taqī 'Uṭhmani to find time to go through the MS and to favour us with the Foreword.



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## MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PERSONALITY OF MUHAMMAD (A.S.T.), *AL-UMMĪ*

Each individual may have certain features of personality and if there is coherence and relevancy among them and if the dispositions of each trait are manifest and commanding then such an individual is regarded as superior to others. The more the successes he achieves in each dimension, still greater he would emerge. A soldier need not be a good administrator; a politician need not be an expert in economics; a thinker may not be a practical legislator; a reformer need not be a founder of a society and a state. Such examples can be multiplied.

There is one more aspect of this problem. While young an individual may have a different approach but with the passage of time his subsequent ambitions and plans may undergo change and after passing through various stages finally he may assume altogether new positions. In many a case it is not the personality of the individual itself but they are the circumstances which change the career of one's life. If the circumstances do favour, then the success may be achieved, otherwise not. If we analyze the greatness of remarkable personalities the reasons may be either the circumstances or one or two distinctive features and never because of their all-embracing dimensions with an integrated personality.

Annals of the world are witness that such a glorious, august and pre-eminent individual who has not only a multi-dimensional personality and who has not only continuously moulded the circumstances in his own favour but who demonstrated so much coherence and identity and practical idealism in different aspects of his character that after traversing the all-pervading stages of advancement he reached that juncture of success and perfection that he alone deserved the appellation *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. He must be a model to the entire human race. As such, he must have started from scratch: having neither people nor society nor state. A born *mu'allim* is tutored by none.



Let us attempt to try to comprehend the grandeur and sublimity of the multi-dimensional personality of Muḥammad (A.S.T.).

The veneration and admiration in which he is held by his Followers, the love and tender feelings which they profess for him, willing submission which they guarantee for him affirm his overwhelming personality. Throughout the ages, throughout the universe such has remained the significance of his personality for the Faithful.

One is apt to run the healthy risk of encountering the feelings unconsciously mixed up with the sentiments of reverence and adoration which such an illustrious personality inspires<sup>(1)</sup>.

In this article I shall discuss only seven aspects of the multi-dimensional and all-comprehensive personality of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), and on the basis of *kalām* Allah alone I shall try to show that in all these seven aspects there was highest manifestation of coherence, harmony, continuity, all round advancement and well-defined purposeful struggle (*jahada*).

It must be declared at the outset that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was a born *nabī/rasūl*<sup>(2)</sup>. He possessed all these attributes *bi'l-quwwah* from the very beginning, which were to be manifested in subsequent stages, as per Allah's will *bi 'l-fi'l*. He started from scratch, having neither property nor people, neither society nor polity, neither authority nor territory.

1. "Our parents be sacrificed over thee (O Muḥammad)", saying of Abu Bakr: Ibn Hajar, *fatḥu 'l-bāwī (sharāḥ Bukḥārī)*, *bāb hijratu'n-nabī* (Cairo, Mustafa, 1959), I, 231.
2. There is no substitute in English — or, for that matter, in any other language — for *nabī* or for *rasūl*. See author's remarks in his Introduction.

Let us first examine his personality as 'Abd. The relationship between the Creator and the human being is that of *Ma'būd* and 'Abd. 'Abd means an abject slave. In this capacity a human being shoulders a very strange responsibility. Conviction in Allah demands indivisible loyalty and devotion to Him.

Abject slavery must normally lead to pain, humiliation and suppression with the consequential dwarfing of all the latent and patent faculties of head and heart, either on collective or individual basis. The human mind will be subjected to torture leading to fear, dismay and inactivity. But it is only in *silm* (*Islam* itself meaning 'total submission') in which just reverse is the case. Allah's command and authority is not for humiliation. It is to put human mind in such direction which will create a new horizon resulting in all round advancement and also freedom from animate and inanimate objects. Independent of man-made laws and systems, he turns out to be the freest man on the face of the earth. This is the hallmark of lasting culture and true civilisation on individual basis. This **عبودية** (servitude/bondage) unfolds such tremendous potentiality, freedom and self-confidence which alone guarantee spiritual uplift, socio-political advancement and conquest over the forces of nature, i.e., lasting and real triumph in every direction. These successes are simple commentaries of total surrender (*silm*) to the Will and Command of Allah.

This '*ubūdīyah* may start when one attains maturity but there is one 'Abd whose status was determined even in childhood. It is obvious that Allah is the best of the planners (*wa Allāhō Khairul Mākīrīn*).

Allah says:

"Did He not find thee an orphan and protect (thee)?  
And did He not find thee wandering and direct (thee)?  
And did He not find thee destitute and enrich (thee)?"  
(93:6-8).

أَلَمْ يَجِدْكَ يَتِيمًا فَآوَىٰ وَوَحَدَكَ ضَالًّا  
فَهَدَىٰ وَوَحَدَكَ عَائِلًا فَأَغْنَىٰ

These Verses deal both with secular and pecuniary needs and spiritual emancipation. Being one of the earliest revealed *sūrah*s, these three Verses do encompass the whole span of the past forty years of life of this 'Abd and not any early particular period.

Hifzu'rRahmān Seōhārvī has so translated the three Verses:  
“(O Nabī) Did Allah not find thee orphan and placed thee under the bosom of His mercy (*fa āwā*)?”

“And did He not find thee uniformed (*nā wāqif/dāallan*)? and then (for the guidance of the universe, *kā'ināt*) made thee guidance-recipient?”

“And did He not find thee (deprived of the support of life) in want, and then (after providing pre-excellence in every sphere) made thee free from want?”

Explaining further, Seōhārvī remarks that through astonishing inimitability and stylistic peculiarity these three Verses narrate the *progressive stages* of the virtuous life of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). He further observes that keeping His 'Abd unconcerned with the material means and measures Allah took him under His personal care and perfected his upbringing and grooming under His direct supervision<sup>(3)</sup>.

In the light of these Verses of *wa'd-duḥā* a supreme dignity, self-respect and non-indebtedness of this 'abd is manifest. Allah Himself provides him protection and makes him free from want. Quranically speaking, one need not claim the credit of being the guardian and protector of this 'Abd, the doubly orphan child. According to *alam yajidka Yatīman fa āwā* Allah took to Himself his upbringing, the worldly means of subsistence notwithstanding. 'Abd Allah

3. *Qaṣaṣu 'l-Qur'ān* (in Urdu), vol. iv, pp. 264-65 (Karachi, 1371 A.H. 3rd edition).

was purposely taken away even before the birth of his son. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was removed from the scene when the grandson was hardly eight years old. His eldest uncle Zubair, under whose guardianship he was, also died when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was about 20 years' of age<sup>(4)</sup>. It was under the patronage of Zubair that this doubly orphan youth participated in Ḥarb al-Fijār and Ḥilfu 'l-Fuḍūl.

In no historical record reference is traceable to any property or cash being inherited by Muḥammad (A.S.T.). Speaking in terms of civilized customs and universal family laws, particularly in Arabia of those days, an orphan upto the age of 19/20 was under no obligation to one who brought him up upto that age. So absolutely no obligation of Zubayr bin 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib on his nephew. Even as a lad it is on record that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) started having his modest earnings as shepherd by grazing the cattles of his neighbours: He is reported to have said 'تَلَانَا نَاعِيْتَمَا لَا هَلْ الْمَكَّةَ بِالْقَرَارِيطِ

"I used to look after the goats of the Makkans for Qarārīṭ"<sup>(5)</sup>. All authorities, with no exception whatsoever, agree that from the age of twenty onwards Muḥammad (A.S.T.) developed mercantile competence and worked either in *Shirkah* or in *Mudārabah*. Bukhārī, on the authority of Khadījah, maintains that he was meeting the debts of hard hit people and was helping the needy<sup>(6)</sup>. This is what the noble lady was reported to have reminded her husband at the time of the first revelation (*iqrā'*). She could not have said that if Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was utilizing Khadījah's money for the said purposes, for, in that case, being no credit to him, the remark carries

4. Ibn Sa'd, *ṭabaqāt*, (Leiden, 1323/1905), I, 81-82; and Ibn Athīr, *al-kāmil* (Misr, 1349), 361. In later life Muḥammad (A.S.T.), while showing affection to 'Abd Allah b. Zubayr, used to say:

[*al-iṣābah*. Ibn Ḥajar, II, 308). "Verily, he is the son of my mother; and his father was affectionate to me".] اِنَّ ابْنِ اُمِّى وَكَانَ الْوَدَى بَيْنَا

5. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* Qarārīṭ being a weight/measurement, he was receiving the wages in kind.

6. *ṣaḥīḥ*, *bāb badu 'l-waḥī*, (Meeruth, Hashmi, 1328), I, 3.

little sense. Thus on the basis of Qur'anic information Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was under obligation of none for his upbringing, grooming and monetary help, although he is reported to have said about Abu Bakr:

أَنَا أَمِنَ النَّاسَ عَلَىٰ فِي صُحْبَتِهِ وَمَالِهِ

(I am under obligation to no human being except Abu Bakr for his Companionship and wealth)<sup>(7)</sup>.

But this remark refers to the imperishable services of aṣ-Ṣiddīq for the cause of the *dīn* and not to any monetary benefits to Muḥammad (A.S.T.). Ibn Kathīr in his commentary of Verses:

وَمَا بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ فَحَدِّثْ

says that Allah changed the want of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) into abundance<sup>(8)</sup>.

This appears to be the apparent interpretation of the Verse *alam yajidka yatīman fa āwā*.

In *Sūrah al-Ā'raf* this 'abd has been addressed as *ar-rasūl*, *an-nabī*, *al-ummī*. In the same way in *Sūrah al-Ankabūt* Allah says:

هَؤُلَاءِ كَذَّبَتْ تَلَّوْا مِنْ قَبْلِهِ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَلَا تَحِطُ بِهِ بَيْنِكَ

"And thou did not recite before it (Qur'an) any book, nor did thou transcribe with thy right hand" (29:48).

7. Tabarī, *Annales* II, 192. At the time of Hijrah Abu Bakr took with him considerable gold *dīnār* which were later on spent in purchasing the plot for the Masjid, on its construction and on the rehabilitation of the Muhājirīn.

8. *Tafsīr* Ibn Kathīr.

From these two Verses it becomes clear that *al-Hakim*, *al-Khabir* kept His 'abd purposely unlettered<sup>(9)</sup> so that he might not be reproached from claiming Divine guidance after being tutored by mortals (the story of Monk Bahira: not withstanding). The all-Knowing, the all-Seeing, while denouncing this false premise has very clearly and logically absolved His 'abd of any such indebtedness to anybody whatsoever:

وَلَقَدْ نَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّمَا يُعَلِّمُهُ بَشَرٌ لِّلسَّانِ الَّذِي  
يُلْحِدُونَ إِلَيْهِ أَعْجِبْ وَهَذَا الْإِنْسَانُ عَرَبِيٌّ مُّذِينٌ ۝

“And We know well what they say: Only a mortal tutors him. The tongue of whom they hint at is foreign, and this is clear Arabic language” (16:103)<sup>(10)</sup>.

This stand of ours has been clearly vindicated in our article on *Waraqah*.

This 'abd of Allah is now a responsible youth of 20/21 years of age (when his uncle Zubair died) but his further grooming is still to be done. By the time this 'abd will proclaim his *nabuwah* he must have attained a higher and more exalted status in the Makkan society in comparison with all of them put together. In support of his claim to *nabuwah* while on Mount *Safa* he refers to his this very status he

9. It is height of malicious feigned ignorance to translate *ummī* with 'illiterate' for the *Rasūl*. Through *yatlū*, *yuzakkī*, *yu'allim* Allah appointed Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as *mo'allim* of all conceivable *hikmah* (cf. Qur'an, 2: 129; 3:164; 62:2).

10. a) Against clear Qur'anic verdicts on the issue of 'tutoring' how a *moḥaqqiq* of the calibre of Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah decided to opine that Abū Tālib was 'tutoring' Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is not clear, vide his book *Muhammad Rasulallah* (para 17, Hyderabad, 1394/1974).

b) Khāzin in his margin on the *tafsīr* of Baiyḍawī (*lubāb al-falāḥ*) among the Qur'anic word *bashar* mentions the names of certain Christian slaves, such as 'Āish, Yā'ish, Qays, 'Addās. They did embrace the Faith at the hands of the Rasūl. Their tongue was not 'Arabic'. How could they have been the converts to their own 'forgeries' (May Allah forbid!)? For details see *art. Waraqah*.

enjoyed in pre-*nabuwah* period. At the first instance they all combined testified to his unimpeachable truthfulness but in the next moment when he informed them that he had been entrusted with *nabuwah* and *risalah* by the *Rabb* of Ka'bah they denied that very truthfulness of his.

Thus between the ages 21-40 this 'abd of Allah got himself acclaimed by the Makkans as *amīn* and *ṣādiq*.

This was the testimony on the part of the non-believing Makkans of his being Truthful and Trustworthy till such time he continued visiting the cave of Hira' for '*irfān ḥaqq* till *balaghā arb'īna sinatan* (46:15) then Jibrīl *Amīn* communicated the *waḥī*. And on whose heart this *nuzūlu 'l-Qur'ān* was being made?

"Blessed is He Who has revealed unto His 'abd the criterion" (25:1).

نَزَلَ الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى عَبْدِهِ

By this time another aspect of the personality of this 'abd is in sight of, i.e. of *nabuwah* (*bi'l-ḥi'l*) but in spite of attaining the *nabuwah* the '*ubūdiyyah* has not yet reached its perfection.

After journey to *Tā'if* for outward purposes it appeared as if Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was dejected.

But even in these trying circumstances the conviction, the determination, the steadfastness and the self-confidence of this 'abd are traits of character unsurpassable in human history.

In *Sūrah Banī Isrā'īl* Allah Says: سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ

"Glorified be He Who carried His 'abd by night from *masjidu'l-ḥarām* to *masjidu'l-aqṣā* whose precincts We blessed that We might show him of Our tokens! Lo! He, only He is the Hearer, the Seer" (17-1).

Two points from *isrā* and *mi'rāj* are worth considering: it is said that the 'abd was taken and not the *nabī/rasūl*. Allah's signs are being made known/shown to the 'abd: knowledge about the laws of nature and of the universe, about the created objects, penetration in the space and cognition of metaphysical world. This is the exalted position of man and his *mi'rāj*, till "so he was the measure of two bows or closer still" (53:9). During this split-second of history one should forget about belonging to nations, races, territories. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) simply became the supreme and inseparable bed-rock of the over all evolutionary progress of the entire human race. It was a journey beyond the materialistic frontiers.

Such are the highest elevated positions of the character of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as 'abd.

The time period of *mi'rāj/isrā* is discussed in the article on *Hijrat*.

For the manifestation of His majesty whenever Allah addresses Muḥammad (A.S.T.) the latter responds from the position of 'ubūdah, expressing profound humbleness because *nabuwah* and *risalah* may not be involved in such cases. And in the display of this 'ubūdīyah this human being surpasses even the angels in 'iṣmah<sup>(11)</sup>.

The position of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as 'abd presupposes his basic classification as *baṣṭhar* – a normal human being subject to the same laws of nature as any other mortal, the distinguishing feature being that he was the recipient of the Divine Revelation:

قُلْ إِنَّمَا أَنَا بَشَرٌ مِّثْلُكُمْ يُوحَىٰ إِلَيَّ الْوَحْيُ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ

11. Commenting on *āyat* **لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ**, occurring in *Sūrah al-Mā'idah* Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī says:

"The 'iṣmah or the protection of the *rusul* is Allah's protection of them, in the first place, by characterizing it with purity of essence (i.e. creating them pure from every sin in their very nature). . . .". *al-mufradāt fī ghārib al-Qur'ān* (Misr, 1961), p. 362.



"Say: I am only a mortal like you — it is revealed to me that your *Ilāh* is only one *Ilāh*" (18:111; 41:6). This statement appears to have implied that this *bashar* did not claim supernatural powers.

"Say: For myself I have no power to hurt nor power to benefit save that which Allah wills" (7:187; 10:49).

قُلْ لَا أَمْلِكُ لِنَفْسِي نَفْعًا وَلَا ضَرًّا إِلَّا مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ

Again:

"Say (O Muḥammad to the disbelievers): I say not unto you (that) I possess the treasures of Allah nor that I have the knowledge of the Unseen" (6:50).

Nevertheless, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) did receive such knowledge of the unseen which from time to time Allah so decided.

Predisposed because of pagan beliefs and Biblical influences the Makkans were surprised when Muhammad (A.S.T.) the *bashar* announced his *nabuwah* and *risālah*.

"And they say: which type of *rasul* is this that he eats food and walks in the markets?" (25:6).

As "Every soul will taste of death" (3:185; 21:35; 29:57).

Allah, addressing Muḥammad (A.S.T.) said:

"And certainly you shall die" (*innaka mayiitun*-literally: certainly, yours is the death; 39:30).

إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ وَإِنَّهُمْ مَيِّتُونَ

Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 a.h.) in his *tafsir*, while commenting on this *āyat*, has given five reasons behind this pronouncement, the fourth being that this was necessary that there should not be any dispute about the death of this *bashar* too<sup>(12)</sup>. Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd has brought out a very significant

12. (Ibn Ahmed, al-Anṣārī) al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li ihkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, Daru'l Kutub, 1395/1946), XV, 254.

point. He says that instead of saying إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ, Allah has said إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ (13). This eloquence confirms the death of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), which Abu Bakr did also pronounce:

“O you people! Whoever worshipped Muḥammad let him know that Muḥammad has died. And whoever worshipped Allah, verily Allah is Ever Alive and shall never die”.

To conclude, apart from the exaltedness of *risālat* (and *nabuwah*) the *anbiyā'* attain perfection in *'abdiyat* too. Being the chosen recipients of the divine Commands they are for the people the *khalīfah* of Allah and authority over the creation. But in relation to Allah they are the perfect embodiment of the *'abdiyat* and their personal and attributive characteristics remain subservient to the divine Will (*mashī'at ilāhī*) and pleasure of the Lord (*riḍā' Maulā*).

### NABĪ

Along with

“blessed is He who sent down the discrimination upon His *'abd*”

which had its beginnings in اقراء باسم ربك (recite in the name of thy *Rabb*), now the personality of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) unfolds one more aspect of his character, i.e. of *nabuwah*. From the Arabic root *naba'ā*, the word *nabī* basically means ‘one who is informed about useful news’<sup>(14)</sup>. Ibn Manzūr explains the same sense in this way: أَنَا أَنْبِئُكَ

13. Muṣṭafa Mahmud (al-Qārī), *al-Qur'ān muḥāwalah lī fahm 'asrī* (Beirut, 1970), p. 217.

14. Rāghib Isbahānī, *al-mufradāt op. cit.*, p. 481 (Msir, 1961).

على الذباج (I inform you about adherence, compliance),  
 on the authority of Sibwayh. Further he remarks *أخبار عن الله*

— news from Allah<sup>(15)</sup>. *Nabī* is always *ḥāmīlu 'l-wahī*. It is through *nabuwah* that the secrets of *توحيد* (*tawhīd*) are received and known. This has remained the immediate purpose behind the mission (*baṭḥat*) of all the *anbiyā'*. But in respect of his *nabuwah* Muḥammad (A.S.T.) excels all the *anbiyā'* at least on two counts. From Adam to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) innumerable *anbiyā'* appeared and worked for the divine Mission. But it so happened that after passing away of each *nabī* the Message of Truth was forgotten and the divine Scriptures were mutilated, disfigured and innovated. The result was that each successive generation of humanity remained in suspense waiting for the renewal of the divine guidance so that they might again distinguish between *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*, *ma'rūf* and *munkar*, *kḥair* and *sharr*, *bir* and *sayyiāt*, *'adl* and *ẓulm* so that the aim of life may be redefined and humanity may be on the right path again. There was thus but to come in the life of humanity that day when it was to be freed from mental and intellectual slavery. This was possible only when the final and the complete Message of Truth and the Right Path were to be given to humanity in the historic age of Muḥammad's creation so that the decisions, actions (*sunnah*) and declarations (*Qaul*) of the last *nabī* might be preserved and the divine Command may remain available to humanity for all times to come in pristine purity. This is the basic philosophy behind the conception of the Last of the *anbiyā'*.

Secondly: *إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا*

“Surely Allah and His angels (under Allah's behest) bless the Nabī. Oh you who believe invoke (Allah's) blessings

15. *Lisānu 'l-'arab* (Bulaq, 1300 a.h.) I, 156-57, under *ṣaṣṣu 'n-nūn*, *ḥarfu 'l-hamzah*.

on him; and submit to him with a worthy submission” (33:56)<sup>(16)</sup>.

Because Muḥammad (A.S.T.) fulfilled all the requirements of *Nabuwah* in totality, the blessings from Allah on him are the recognition and declaration of his meritorious services. As regards the *Ummah*, then, apart from invoking Allah’s blessings on him, *taslīm-ō-raḍa* of such a *nabī* is the very basis of their *faḷāḥ/khair/barkat/maghfirah*. After quoting several authorities, from Ibn ‘Abbas to Juwainī, including Shāfi‘ī and Abū Ḥanīfa, Muftī Muḥammad Shāfi‘ī in his *tafsīr* maintains that in the opinion of *jamhūr ‘ulamā’* none shares this *ṣalāt wa taslīm*<sup>(17)</sup>. Quoting Ibn Sā‘ib, Ibn Jawzī concludes that by *sallimū taslīma* is meant: “submit to that which he (Muḥammad) has ordered you (all)”<sup>(18)</sup>. Lane says that by *salām alaika* it has always meant: I shall not do to thee anything that is disliked or evil, annoy thee or disagreeable to thee<sup>(19)</sup>.

If *sallimū* was to mean here ordinary salutation then Allah and His angels could have also offered it but in the earlier portion of the Verse the word ‘*sallimū*’ is missing. It means that only the followers of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) could have performed the second command and not Allah and angels. In *Sūrah al-Nisā’* وَيَسْلِمُ أَسْلَامًا has been used in this very sense (4:65):

فَلَا وَرَيْكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ  
حَتَّى يُحْكَمُوا فِيكَ فِيمَا سَجَرَ بِهِمْ رَبُّهُمْ لَكَايِدًا وَإِنَّ أَفْسُسَهُمْ  
حَرَجًا مِمَّا قَصَيْتَ وَيَسْلِمُ أَسْلَامًا ۝

16. Abū Sa‘ūd in his *ḥāshiyah* on Rāzī’s *tafsīr* maintains that by *sallimū taslīma* “obedience and submission to Muḥammad” is meant.

17. His *tafsīr* “*ma‘ārifu l-Qur‘ān*” (Karachi, 1983) in Urdu, VII, 225-6.

18. Ibn Jawzī, *zādu ‘l-ma‘āṣir* (Damishq, 1385/1965), VI, 418. Ibn Sā‘ib (Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib b. Bushr b. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kalbī, d. 146/763) wrote books on *tafsīru ‘l-Qur‘ān*.

19. Lexicon, Book I, Part IV, p. 1413, col. I, under *silma* (IV Form: *aslama*).

“And submit to him with a becoming submission” (4:65).

The *dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being ‘free-for-all’ in *tawīlāt*, who can stop me if I propose to add the names of *āl*, *azwāj*, *ahl bait*, *ṣaḥābī*, *zurriyāt*, *malā’ikah*, *‘ibadu’ ṣ-ṣualihīn*, *tabi’īn*, etc. etc. along with the name of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in this otherwise exclusive eulogy?

### MUSLIM

As told earlier, just after receiving *waḥī* Muḥammad (A.S.T.) assumes the role of *nabī* along with *‘abd*. The time is fast approaching that the Message, (*da’wa*) will be delivered (*rasala*) to the whole of mankind. They are to be turned as *muslims* (the submitted ones), the purpose behind *silim*.

*Islām* means: the way of submission to Allah; and *muslim* is one who submits to Allah in totality. There is a certain group of writers who want to give the impression that Islam means peace and Muslim is one who enters into peace with his fellow human beings – though an incomplete connotation. No doubt, the Arabic root *salama* does have this secondary meaning, but there can be no peace unless the ‘submissive ones’ submit to Allah’s authority. As regards the humanity at large, there can be no peace unless we submit to someone. Thus *salama* as submission has a wider and a deeper significance. Allah says: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ادْخُلُوا فِي السِّلْمِ كَآفَّةً ۚ وَلَا

تَتَّبِعُوا خُطُوَاتِ الشَّيْطَانِ إِنَّهُ لَكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مُبِينٌ ۝

“O you who believe! Enter, all of you, into (total) submission (unto Him); and follow not the footsteps of the devil. Lo! He is an open enemy for you” (2:208).

As is obvious from the Verse, the Faithful are commanded to enter into Allah’s submission in totality and not to follow غَيْرِ اللَّهِ. At another place (2:131) Allah says about Abraham<sup>(20)</sup>:

20. “When his *Rabb* said to him: submit. He said: I surrender myself to the *Rabb* of the worlds” (2:131).

إِذْ قَالَ لَهُ رَبُّهُ أَسْلِمْ قَالَ أَسْلَمْتُ لِرَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ٥

No other meaning is possible except, 'submission'. But before converting others as 'submissive ones' (Muslims), it was imperative on this 'Abd/Nabī' that he himself declares his total submission to Allah. First he was to become 'Muslim' publicly then only he could have converted others to the same. Who should be the first Muslim of that period? Certainly this *nabī* himself. Therefore Quran says:

"And declare (O Muḥammad): Lo! my worship and my sacrifice and my living and my dying are for Allah, the *Rabb* of the Worlds. No associates has He. And this I am commanded (to declare); and I am the first of those who surrender (in totality unto Him) (*wa anā awwalu'l-muslimīn*)" (6:163-64).

Again:

وَأُفِّرْتُ لِأَنِّ الْكُونَ أَوَّلَ السَّالِمِينَ ٥

"Say I am commanded to be the first of those who surrender/submit" (39:12)

Through these Verses Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is being firmly and absolutely settled as 'abd' in a state of complete harmony with his *Rabb*.

From the age of forty till his demise you examine each and every motive of this *awwalu'l-muslimīn* you will find him the highest prototype of dedication, sacrifice and submission – it may be the thirteen years of tumultuous Makkan life, bleeding return from *Ṭā'if*, the momentous *Hijrah*, the headship of Madinah and Arabian peninsula, the day of the conquest of Makkah or the day of Tabūk Sermon or of *Khuṭbatu'l-wada'*. In spite of this submissiveness the force and strength of the pronouncements and declarations of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) can be ascertained from the following Verse:

وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ قَوْلًا مِّمَّنْ دَعَا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا وَقَالَ إِنَّنِي مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ٥

"And who is better in declarations than him who invites towards Allah and acts righteously and declares: Lo! I am surely of those who surrender" (41:33)?

At the time of the well-deserved conquest of Makkah even legitimate pride and jubilation were out of the question. What to talk of elation, even victory celebrations were forbidden. If, of course, there was any activity allowed it was:

“When Allah’s succour and triumph comes  
And thou seest mankind entering the *dīn* of Allah in troops,  
Then hymn the praises of thy Lord and seek forgiveness of Him.  
And Lo! He is ever ready to show mercy” (110:1-3).

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
إِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللَّهِ وَالْفَتْحُ ۖ وَرَأَيْتَ النَّاسَ يَدْخُلُونَ فِي دِينِ  
اللَّهِ أَفْوَاجًا ۖ فَسَبِّحْ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّكَ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُ ۚ إِنَّهُ كَانَ تَوَّابًا ۝

Can it be enquired into that *anbiyā'* being basically *ma'sūm*, where was the necessity of *istaghfar* under the circumstances? Moreover, it was a historic occasion of victory against 21 years' of continuous opposition.

Nevertheless, yes, *istaghfar* was binding because as a *muslim* at the hour of triumph he was to demonstrate sweet humility, which is not against dignity and self-esteem. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) will breathe his last as “*submissive one*” (3:102).

### RASŪL

“And We have sent thee (O Muḥammad) unto (the whole) mankind as *Rasūl*” (4:78).

وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ لِلنَّاسِ رَسُولًا

The 'Abd, who was till now *nabī* and *muslim*, was being entrusted with the most formidable and most important task, i.e. of *risālat*. When the *nabī* transmits and delivers the *waḥī* to others then he becomes Rasūl bi 'l-fī. It is *risālat* which consummates *nabuwah*. *Awāmīr-ō-Nawāhī* are demonstrated to mankind through *risālat*.

Al-Qur'an says: وَمَا نُرْسِلُ الْمُرْسَلِينَ إِلَّا مُبَشِّرِينَ وَمُنذِرِينَ

قَبْنِ اٰمَنَ وَاٰصْلَحَ فَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ②

"And We send not the Rusul but as bearers of good tidings and warners; and then whoever believes and acts righteously, they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve" (6:48).

Again:

"O Rasūl! Make known that which has been revealed unto thee from thy *Rabb*, for if thou do it not, thou will not have conveyed His Message (رِسَالَتَهُ)" (5:67).

Abu Bakr, *Khadījah* and *Zayd b. Ḥārithah* may be the earliest grown ups who submitted (*muslim*) but for the official beginnings of *risalāt* the following procedure was adopted:

"And warn thy tribe of near kindered" (26:214).

وَاَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْاَقْرَبِينَ

"So proclaim that which thou art commanded" (15:94)

"Rise and warn!" (74:2) قُمْ فَأَنْذِرْ

The Quraishites in particular and the humanity in general are warned of the chastisement which *Mālik ʿYaumīddīn* will inflict on man for the deeds and actions based on *Jihālāt*, *kufṛ* and *shirk* in this life: The work of *risalāt* is being started from Mount *Ṣafā*. Strange as it may appear, in support of his *risalāt* the spotless record of the past forty years as *ʿabd* is being presented before the Makkans:

فَقَدْ لَبِثْتُ فِيكُمْ عُمُرًا مِّنْ قَبْلِهِ ۖ أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ ③

"I have but dwelt among you a whole life time before this (came to me). Have you then no sense?" (10:16).

On the basis of this character-contention they might have agreed that enemy's army was marching from behind the mountain, although it was not the case, but they would not



believe that the Creator of Universe and the *Rabb* of the Day of Judgement was *al-Aḥad*, which is a reality. But the responsibility of the *Rasūl* is to communicate the Message. As regards the Guidance (*hidāyah*):

إِن عَلَيْنَا لَلْهُدَىٰ ۖ

“Lo! Ours it is (to give) the guidance” (92:10).

The greatest responsibility of the *Rasūl* is that the Faith and corresponding actions which he expects from his followers he must first himself show through his own conviction and incessant deeds. Unless he himself carries out the divine Commands how else can he persuade others to obey? In this process the actions, decisions, proclamations, orders of and guidance from the *Rasūl* are formulated. Through this process of practical demonstration alone the utility of the divine Laws is made known. The Qur’anic injunctions require elaboration and they can be applicable only after their details are worked out and consequent practical decisions are taken and endorsed — it may be *Jihād al-Akbar* against *nafs* (internal foe) (a Makkan revelation), *Jihād al-Aṣghar* against the external foe at Badr, the establishment of *ṣalāt* for a righteous society or the organization of the Institution of *zakāt* for purified earnings and savings.

The practical elaboration, elucidation of the Qur’anic laws is, therefore, in no way possible except through the *sunnah* of the *Rasūl*.

The Knower of the Hidden and Manifest commands:

وَمَا أَسْكُرُ الرُّسُولَ فَعُدَّةٌ وَّ

مَا نَهَكُم عَنْهُ فَأَتَيْتُهَا وَأَتَقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ

“... And whatever the *Rasūl* gives you, take it. And whatever he forbids you, abstain (therefrom); and be afraid of Allah. Lo! Allah in reprisal is stern” (59:7).

In the subsequent portion of the Verse if there was to be no reference to Allah’s fear and punishment even then the

earlier command was enough for inviting Rasūl's obedience but the threat of retribution appears to further emphasize the fate of a *mōmin/muslim* in case of his non-compliance of the *sunnah* of the Rasūl. The Battle of Uḥud is a pointer in this direction. What a sublime status of *Rasūl* in a Muslim society! The same viewpoint has been so expressed under the term *itā'at*:

وَاطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ ﴿١٣٢﴾

“And obey Allah and the Rasūl that you may find mercy” (3:132)

قُلْ اطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَاطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ

“Say: Obey Allah and obey the Rasūl” (24:54);

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَاطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَلَا تُبْطِلُوا أَعْمَالَكُمْ ﴿٣٣﴾

“O you who believe! obey Allah and obey the Rasūl and render not your actions vain” (47:33)

قُلْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُحِبُّونَ اللَّهَ فَاتَّبِعُونِي يُحْبِبْكُمُ اللَّهُ وَيَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ ذُنُوبَكُمْ وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ ﴿٣٠﴾

“Say, (O Muḥammad) If you love Allah, follow me: Allah will love you. . .” (3:30).

Alongwith the obedience to Allah only *Rasūl*'s obedience is made compulsory. If the *muslimīn/mōminīn* do not obey the commands of the Rasūl or do not submit to his authority then not only they will not be entitled to Allah's compassion but even their all deeds will go waste, be it mundane affairs or religious, may be the laws of war and peace or economic system, may be the interdependence of spirit and matter or code of morality. Even love of Allah wholly depends on the *ittibā'* of the Rasūl. Such being the criterion, the *ittibā'* *ḥuḥammadī* turns out to be the only scale to measure once claim of Allah's love. *Mōmin* is to follow the *sunnah* of the Rasūl both individually and collectively within a given society and polity. To stress and emphasize the point further Allah finally and categorically declares:

“Whoever obeys the *Rasūl* he indeed obeys Allah: (4:79)

Such a *Rasūl* must command magnetic personality, honesty of purpose, prepossessing qualities of head and heart, affectionate dealings and ideal character to attract *mankind* towards him; and once they offer *bai't* (the Oath of Fealty) on his hands they turn lifelong willing slaves to his commands. Otherwise how else is يُطِيعُ and طِيعًا possible? I repeat mankind: Quraish of Makkah, Aus and *Khazraj* of *Yathrib* the converted Jews of *Madinah*, the far and distant tribes of the whole Peninsula of Arabia on the one hand and *Zayd b. Harithah* of Syria, *Bilāl* of Abyssinia, *Ṣuhayb* of *Rūm* and *Salmān* of *Persia* on the other, willingly submerged their identity in the identity of *Muḥammad* (A.S.T.). The last four figures are more than sufficient to represent the then known three civilized continents of the terrestrial globe.

After total submission to Allah the *Rasūl* is himself following and carrying out the commands of Allah. As such, his actions and orders are not only in total consonance with the commands of Allah but are their elaboration. Obedience to *Rasūl* is actually obedience to Allah. The highest manifestation of the significance of *Rasūl* is كَمُطِيعِهِ itself. The first part of a Muslim's Confession of Faith “*lā ilāha illā Allah*” requires verification for his conviction (*īmān*) for which a trustworthy (*amīn*) and truthful (*ṣādiq*) verifier is needed. According to Allah's handiwork the very disclosure of His existence and of His Unity depends on *risālat*. Hence the second portion of the formula: “*Muḥammad Rasūl Allah*”. Is it not because of this reason that Allah's *rahmat* on me is linked up with the *itā'iat* of the *Rasūl*: *atī'u 'r-rasūla la'allakum turḥamūn*, [24:56 — ‘obey the *Rasūl*, that haply you may find (Allah's) mercy]?

### MALIK

Allah's Message — all-pervading *dīn*, is a comprehensive code and practical philosophy of life. In it religion and philosophy, spirit and matter, society and state, this world

and the Next are all interdependent. *Dīn* cannot flourish in vacuum. To materialize vision, power is required; so that power does not corrupt, there is the necessity of vision. To get the Qur'anic injunctions followed, to have full play of Rasūl's *sunnah* and to attain the righteous goal of life, *dīn* does require, like any other polity or system, time, space, and power. Full and proper object of the *dīn*, both in spiritual and material fields, can neither be enforced nor can be reached to perfection without society, authority and dominion — in the cause of Allah alone. It was on this very basis that 'al-Fārābī' (*Siyāsa*, p. 50, II. 7-12) regards such a pious Muslim as *kāmil* but *gharīb* who is not the citizen of *madīnatu'l-fāḍilah* because the righteous social order based on *Sharī'ah* which is the most important ingredient, is not available to him. The very purpose in transmitting final Message was to establish its upper-hand over all the systems of life. Being the ultimate community of Allah, *Rasūl's sunnah* demands that to demonstrate the success of the Divine election the Muslim *ummah* should lead the world. In two of our periods (Umayyads of Damascus and 'Uthmānī of Istanbul) the Message was taken and spread to and established in large portions in the three continents. The Faith had been carried to Sind and Multan in the East, to the confines of China in north-east, Crimea and Turkistan in the North, whole of Eastern Europe upto the gates of Vienna, the whole of the Iberian peninsula and South of France in Western Europe, almost all of the Mediterranean islands, the whole of upper Africa extending southwards to the lower cataracts of the Nile in eastern side, shores of Atlantic in Morocco and *Tarīq al-Ghana* in the western side. Thousand pities that the advance of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' during Yazīd's period was blocked by *Bahr zulmāt* (the Atlantic):

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظَاهِرَهُ عَلَىٰ الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الشَّيْكُوفُونَ

"He it is Who has sent His Rasūl with the guidance and the *Dīn* of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all *Adyān*, though the Associationists (*mushrikīn*) are averse." (9:33)

From the above discussion it follows that the full attainment of the objective of *Nabuwah* and *Risālah* was not

possible without the establishment of society and state. Spiritual advancement combined with political authority was a *sine qua non*.

One may not insist that all the efforts of the *Rasūl* at Makkah were directed only in one direction. These are only historical details.

It is a Makkan revelation in which (*Bānī Isra'īl*) Allah commands Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to say: "And say: O Rabb, let my entry be from the gate of Truth and let my exit be from the gate of Truth and allow me from Thy presence a sustaining power" (17:80):

مِنْ لَدُنْكَ سُلْطَانًا نَصِيرًا

He was to be sustained through the governance given by Allah.

The main object in this Verse being the establishment of governance, power, authority and Hijrah being an immediate means towards that end, 'entry' (*mudkhala ṣidqin*) has been mentioned at first and 'exit' (*mukhḥraja ṣidqin*) afterwards, the normal sequence not being adopted.

Journey to Tā'if, approach to 'Amr b. banī Ṣa'ṣa' (the Hums), the three pledges of 'Aqabah, the Hijrat, the arrival in Yathrib and the issuance of a constitution (كُتِبَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ كِتَابًا) within three months of his arrival in the city – all these are pointers in the direction that after thirteen years of *jihād akbar* the time has come to form the nucleus of a *Shari'ah* oriented society and dominion. Such a responsibility is that of the *malik* though intrinsically مَلِكِهِ may be a part of *Risalat* and *Khilāfat* in Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) case. Allah says:

"Surely Allah has raised Saul to be a ruler (*malik*) over you" (2:247) إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ بَعَثَ لَكُمْ طَالُوتَ مَلِكًا

Again:

"He raised *anbiyā'* among you and made you rulers (*mūlūk*)" (5:20) اِذْ جَعَلَ فِيكُمْ أَنْبِيَاءَ وَجَعَلَكُمْ مُلُوكًا

No sooner the Rasūl (A.S.T.) arrived in Yathrib a case of adultery, committed by a Jewish man and woman, was brought to him for adjudication because the Jews were of the opinion: Follow him for he is the ruler:<sup>(21)</sup>. How else could they have appreciated Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) early authority? Again, in *Sūrah Yūsuf* Joseph, the famous Nabī, is declared to have said رَبِّ قَدْ آتَيْتَنِي مِنَ الْمُلْكِ "My Rabb, Thou has given me of the dominions (*mulk*)" (12:10).

The *mufasssirīn/muḥaddathīn/fuqahā'* agree that from among the *anbiyā'* if one Nabī possessed a particular صِفَة / وصف all such *ṣifāt/auṣāf* were pre-eminently vouchsafed to Muḥammad (A.S.T.): إِنَّ اللَّهَ فَضَّلَنِى عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ<sup>(22)</sup>. He was the (political) head of the Madinah dominion and as such, *Malik*. In *Sūrah, al-Imrān* Allah asks Muḥammad to declare:

قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ لَكَ الْمُلْكُ تُوِّقِ الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ

"Say (O Muḥammad): O Allah, Owner of the dominions, Thou gives the dominion to whom Thy pleases" (3:25).

And Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was definitely not deprived of the dominions but was provided with it as his *sīrah* tells us. In *Itqān Suyūṭī* places this *Sūrah* as the second or third in order of the Madinah revelations. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) assumes the role of *malik*. One who receives *mulk* is known as *malik*.

While discussing the Madinah State we freely use the English terms like 'founder', 'ruler', 'head' and even 'sovereign' for Muḥammad (A.S.T.). All such terms remain agreeable but the moment one applies the corresponding Arabic words for him to signify the same sense the traditionalists turn allergic!

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) at first gathered the people (Makkans, Aws and *Khazraj*) in space and time, procured the land (*ard*)

21. Ibn Ishāq, I, 564 (Saqqā); *sunan*, Abū Dā'ūd, (Misr, 1371/1952) II, 463-64; *tajrīd*, Bukhārī, p. 668: فَاتَّبَعُوا نَبِيَّهُم مَلِكًا

22. Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, *bāb: mā jā'a fī al-ghanīmah*, (Delhi, Mujtabai, 1342 a.h.), I, 187.

through 'Aqabah and through undertaking Hijrah to Yathrib, promulgated the laws of the realm through himself dictating the constitution, for full ten years initially governed (with all the concomitants) Madinah and its suburbs and subsequently the whole of the peninsula of Arabia, including the Jews of Khaybar and the Christians of Najrān and entered into international relations with the Christian chiefs of southern Syria.

Purely politically speaking, which are the Arabic terms applicable for such a statecraft giant?

- 1) *Rasūl*? But we translate *rasūl* as Messenger, and these are not the functions of a messenger!
- 2) *Nabī*? But we translate *nabī* as Prophet and prophet is supposed to make prophecies and not to carry out such functions!

Allah the *Mālik al-Mulk* (Possessor of the Dominions) is bestowing *mulk* (kingdom of God on earth) on Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as His *nā'ib* (vice-gerent) or *khalīfah* (representative).

Not being *malik* (ruler) but still 'ruling' the *mulk* (dominion) on behalf of *Māliku 'l-Mulk*, what hinderance and impediment are there to recognize and address Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as *malik* (the *de facto* ruler) and *khalīfah* (Allah's representative on earth) is not clear.

Before disagreeing to use the terms '*malik*' and '*khalīfah*' for him it is the duty of the critics to recommend alternative Arabic words keeping in view his performances enumerated in the relevant para above. When I feel proud in addressing Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as 'slave (*ʿAbd*) and ordinary human being (*bashar*) why should I hesitate in addressing him as Allah's *nā'ib* and *khalīfah*?

Congregational *ṣalāt*, war and peace, the promulgation of the institutions of *zakāt* and *ṣaum* – all these are the constituent parts of the collective socio-politico-religious order:

"Those who, if We give them power (*Tamkīn*) in the land, will

establish (the Institutions) of *Ṣalāt* and *Zakāt* and enjoin good and forbid wrong. And to Allah is the end of affairs” (22:41).

We all know that the corresponding laws were revealed in Madinah period. Strange as it may appear, in his capacity as *Malik* Muhammad (A.S.T.) laid the foundations of a mosque and to establish a community based on Faith introduced the system of *moākhilāt* (Muslim/Momin citizens). Even then he might have performed these functions of *Malik* as *nabī/rasūl*,

### KHALĪFAH

For a full fledged Muslim polity the presence of a simple *malik* was not sufficient. Actually *khilāfat illāhīyyah* was being established on the earth. The cognition of the complete code of life as per Allah’s will is possible through *wahī* only, for which the office of *nabuwah* is imperative. While trying to enforce the code, the only way to attain the object of life for the *Rasūl* is the establishment of the oft- promised *khilāfah* of Allah on earth: *وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً*

In a Muslim dominion the *muqtadar ā‘lā* (ultimate sovereign), *ḥākim ḥaqīqī* (actual sovereign) and *mālikul mulk* (the master of dominions) is none else but *al-Qādir al-Muṭlaq*. The orders are from Him alone: “*innā l-ḥukmo ila Allah*”<sup>(23)</sup>. The lone Authority which determines the goal of life will also provide the code of life. Only His laws will prevail. What to talk of parliaments, heads of the states and constitutions, in our case even *nabī/rasūl/khalīfah* cannot lay claim to sovereignty. Because the wordly authority with us being only *amānat ilāhī*, there is the necessity of *niyābat ilāhī* – the delegated powers. Allah says:

“(And it was said unto him): O David! Lo! We have set thee as a viceroy (*khālīfah*) in the earth; so judge between men with the Truth and follow not (thine low) desire, lest it beguile thee from the path of Allah” (38:26).

23. al-Qur’an, 6:57; 12:40, 67.



Here *Khilāfah/hukūma* is the representativeness of Allah on the earth; the basis of *ḥaqq* are divine injunctions; human desires are man-made laws (constitution); and *Sabīl* Allah is the *ṣirāt mustaqīm* – the Right Path (*subul*).

Qur'an has addressed David as *Khalīfah* because he was sovereign (from wordly, political, point of view) and ruler in his days<sup>(24)</sup>. As a logical corollary Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was also definitely Allah's representative (*khalīfah*) as the Head of the Madinah state and, later on, of the whole Arabian peninsula, Allah says:

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ  
وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ  
كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ

"Allah has promised such of you who believe and do good deeds that He will certainly make them rulers (*yestakhlifannahum*) in the earth as He made those before them rulers (*istakhlafah*); and that He will surely establish for them (*makkannāhum*) their *dīn*" (24:55).

Addressing the generation of Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) days in *Sūrah Yūnus*, Allah says, "Then We made you rulers (*khalāī'fah*) in the land after them" (10:14).

ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ  
خُلَفَاءَ فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ لِنَنْظُرَ كَيْفَ تَعْمَلُونَ ۝

It was imperative that to enforce the divine Commands through dominions and to circumstantiate his *nabuwah/risālah* through exercising power and authority Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was to exercise the status of *nā'ib/khalīfah* of the *Mālik ul Mulk*.

Accordingly, to the ever implementing system of Allah,

24. Like the last *nabī/rasūl*, David (Dā'ūd) established a unitary powerful Hebrew dominion (*khilāfah*); he also waged war (*jihād*), against the enemies of *Khilāfah* of those days. For reference see art. *Zaynab*.

Abu Bakr was not the first *khaliḥ* in the political history of mankind. Technically speaking, after the demise of the *Rasūl*, Siddiq Akbar was the representative in continuation of Allah on the earth and, simultaneously, successor to the *Rasūl* in *Khaliḥ*'s capacity. Because *niyābat* is to one who is alive, Adam, David, Solomon have been addressed as *Khaliḥ*. Addressing Muhammad (A.S.T.) Allah says:

وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ  
وَمُهَيِّئًا عَلَيْهِمْ فَاحِشَةً بَيْنَهُمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ

“And unto thee have We revealed (O Muhammad) the Scripture with the Truth verifying that which is before it of the Book and a watcher over it, so rule between them by what Allah has revealed and follow not their low desires” (5:48).

There is absolutely no difference between this *Āyat* and that of the David's (quoted above) but only to the extent that the Last Book is better equipped as regards the principles of state and government.

On the basis of these two exactly parallel Verses it must be obvious that if David was the *Khaliḥ* (alongwith *nabī* and *rasūl*) Muhammad (A.S.T.) also performed the same functions of *khilāfat*. If David was to rule and to enforce laws, Muhammad (A.S.T.) was also enjoined to do likewise. If David was not to promulgate man-made laws, Muhammad (A.S.T.) was also commanded the same. But the *iḥkām* for this ruler being based on the Guardian (*muḥaymin*) over all earlier Scriptures, they were final and everlasting.

A very important *ḥadīth*, purely from political point of view is reported in Bukhārī:

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ تَسُوبُهُمْ إِلَّا نَبِيَاءَهُمْ كُلَّمَا خَلَاكَ نَبِيٌّ تَخَلَّفَهُ نَبِيٌّ  
وَأَدَّهُ لَأَنْبِيَاءٍ بَعْدِي فَتَسِيكُونَ خُلَفَاءَ فَيَكْثُرُونَ فِيهَا

“The Rasūl (A.S.T.) said: (The affairs of) Banī Isrā’īl were being governed/administered by their *anbiyā’*. When a *nabī* (of theirs) deceased, the governmental authority (*khulafa*) continued in the next *nabī*. And certainly there is no *nabī* after me, and as such there would be *Khulafā’*, and (there would be) so many of them”<sup>(25)</sup>.

It is thousand pities that our *sīrah* writers, historians and political thinkers have always quoted, to meet their ends, out of context, only one portion namely: *lā nabīyya ba’dī*, of this otherwise indivisible whole. In support of our argument that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was the last *nabī* there are so many other *aḥādīth*. But this *ḥadīth* is in a different context altogether. Herein the Rasūl was simply explaining the system of political headship during the days of earlier *anbiyā’*. When *nubuwwah* was still in vogue, it was obvious that the succeeding *nabī* would also be the political head. ‘*Taswaso*’ is from the Arabic root *س/اس/وس*, which means ‘to rule’, ‘to govern’. The modern Arabic word *siyāsah* is derived from this very root. Continuing his argument, the last *nabī* points out that as the *nubuwwah* ceases to exist with him and as the governmental authority/power of the Muslim dominions would and must continue, that function would be transferred to *Khulafā’* after his demise and that there would be considerable (*kathīr*) of them. If we dare to suppress the concluding portion of the *ḥadīth* it would be easy to limit the number of our *Khulafā’* to four or to five.

If we can freely use the terms ‘ruler’ and ‘head’ (of Madinah/Arabia state) for Muḥammad (A.S.T.), why not their technical Qur’anic equivalent *Khalīfah* or *Malik*?

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is reported to have said that if there was to be any *nabī* after him, it was to be ‘Umar b. *Khaṭṭāb*. In that case he would have been also the *Khalīfah* of his own expanding *Khilāfah*!

Only such *Nabī/Rasūl* can be termed as *khalīfah* (the

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25. *Ṣaḥīḥ, kitābu’ l-anbiyā’* (Beirut/Ma’arif) II, 257.

political head) who actually established a definite political order. It cannot be proved from the Qur'an that all the *anbiyā'* of the past also established dominions (e.g. Jesus).

When the everlasting promise of *khilāfah* is being made by Allah to *mōmin* and '*amilu's-ṣoaleh* and Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being the first of such amongst the 7th Cen. Muslims, then from every dimension of political headship he was *Khalīfah Allah fi'l-arḍ*<sup>(26)</sup>. It was imperative that among mankind Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was to exercise the divine *niyābat/khilāfat* so that on the basis of power (political) the divine laws might be enforced and through authority and administration he could demonstrate his dominance, i.e. *risālah*; distinction between *mōminīn* and *munkirīn* should be discernible; opponents should be vanquished or else join the fold and the *muttabi'in* should attain success and bliss.

When after ruling for a period of ten years and after fully working his *sunnah* as a complete code and when the time approached for his *wiṣāl* that famous Verse was revealed:

الْيَوْمَ اكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ

"This day I have perfected for you your *dīn* and completed My favours on you and chosen for you 'The Total Surrender' (*Islām*) as your *dīn* (Complete Code of Life)" (5:3).

According to Imām Bukhārī this Verse was revealed on Friday the 9th *Dhī'l-Hijjah*, Hijrah 10 at 'Arafāt at the time of *Hajjat 'ul-Wada'*. The hard fact is that till such time the *khalīfatul-l-'aṣr* has not finalized the political, social, economic, moral, judicial, martial, national and international problems and has not worked out an everlasting and all comprehensive code on the basis of his *nabuwah* and *risālah* this *āyat* was not to be revealed. *Wahī* does the codification of life in all categorical details and the targets set for *nabuwah/risālah* are reached through governance, power, authority, dominion

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26. To assume that in the case of the last *nabī khalīfah* and *malik* stand included in his *nabuwah* and *risālah* is one thing but to insist that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was neither *khalīfah* nor *malik* is quite a different contention.

(*khilāfah*). If the calculations are correct, within three months he breathed his last.

To repeat: *innī jā'ilun fi'l-ardī khalīfatan*.

Mufti Muḥammad Shafī' has so analyzed the *āyat*: "As is clear from this *āyat*, a new chapter (*bāb*) on the constitution of dominions (*mumlikat*) emerged when, for the administration (*naẓm*) of the world Allah appointed a *nabī* to enforce the laws (*qānūn*). Allah's is the sole sovereignty (*iqtidār ā'lā*) over the entire universe. Representatives (*nā'ib/nuwwāb*), sent by Allah, assume political power (*siyāsāt*) and governance (*hukūmat*) and undertake education (*ta'līm*) and grooming (*tarbiyat*) of His creation (*makhlūq* — human beings). . . . . Allah selects particular persons for this job and appoints His *nabī* and *rasūl* (as-(His): *khalīfah* and *nā'ib* . . . . . This system of *khilāfat* and *niyābat* continued from Adam to Muḥammad" (A.S.T.). . . . . As *Khalīfah* of Allah Muḥammad came to this world with much superabilities (*khuṣūṣiyāt*)"

Mufti Shafī' continues: "This is what Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī has to say in his *tafsīr* about this *āyat*:

"In this narration, as we have related, the interpretation of this *āyat* of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ibn 'Abbās is:

"I am going to place a *khalīfah* (representative/*nā'ib*) of Mine (*minnī*) on the earth who will represent Me in the Command (*al-Hukm*) over My creation (*khalqī*). And such a *khalīfah* is Adam and the one who takes his place (*qamā maqāmahū*) in the obedience to Allah and in the administration with justice (*al-hukm bi'l-'adl*) among His creation" (27).

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27. Mufti Muḥammad Shafī', *ma'ārifu 'l-Qur'ān*, vol. I, pp. 182-83 (*idarah al-ma'arif*, Karachi, 1403/1983); and Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an tāwīlī āyāi al-Qur'ān*, vol. I, p. 200 (Misr, al-Halabi, 1968).

Those who have gone through his *tafsīr* (in eight volumes) fully know that the late *Muftī Ā'zam* of Pakistan encompassed the whole *tafsīr* literature of all the earlier centuries.

From all standards, whether political or religious, whether temporal or spiritual when he for a full term of ten years initially ruled Madinah and its surroundings, and, subsequently, the whole of the peninsula of Arabia, imposed his suzerainty over Christian Najrān, Jewish *Khaybar* and realized *Jizyah* from a Syrian principality, and *above all*, when he promulgated, imposed and materialized Allah's *awāmīr wa nawāhī* through his *sunnah*, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was *khalīfah Allah fi 'l-ard*.

How boldly, on the basis of '*innī jā'ilun fi'l arḍi khalīfah*', ordinary individual Muslims would appropriate to themselves this promise and out of sheer confusion would like to deprive the real recipient of the promise!

### IMĀM

'Uthmān bin 'Affān is known as Imām (*Dhu'n-Nūrayn*) because during the life time of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and during his own tenure of *khilāfat* while acting on the *Sunnah* of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) he had to his credit various achievements which serve as a model to us even today. We designate Bukhārī as Imām because he has left for posterity such valuable *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* literature. We recognize Ghazzālī as Imām because he revived and re-vitalized the *Sunnah* of the Master. To our all Muslim political thinkers, from earliest to medieval times, the two words *khalīfah* and *imām* have remained synonyms.

Māwardī, Nizāmul Mulk Tūsī, Ghazzālī, Ibn Khaldūn and Shāh Walī Allah have designated Muslim head of state as *Imām* and *Khalīfah*, both.

*Imām* means leader; person commanding unquestionable obedience; whose actions are models to others; whose deeds and declarations serve as guide-lines; by following him one can

attain success and bliss. When the followers of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) can attain the position of Imām and can serve as model to his Ummat, to what highest pinnacle of *Imāmat* this 'abd/nabī/muslim/rasūl/malik/khalīfah stands enshrined only *Rabbu'l mashriqain wa'l maghribain* can determine and not we made out of dust. The most that we can regard him is as matchless and unsurpassable exemplar.

In *Sūrah al-Baqarah* Allah says:

وَإِذْ ابْتَلَىٰ  
إِبْرَاهِيمَ رَبُّهُ بِكَلِمَاتٍ فَأَتَمَّهُنَّ قَالَ إِنِّي جَاعِلُكَ لِلنَّاسِ إِمَامًا  
قَالَ وَمِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي قَالَ لَا يَنَالُ عَهْدِي الظَّالِمِينَ ۝

"And when his *Rabb* tried Abraham with *certain* commands, he fulfilled them. He said I will make thee a leader (*imām*) of mankind. (Abraham) said: And of my offsprings (will there be Imāms); Allah said: My covenant does not include the; wrongdoers" (2:124).

As a reward for acting according to the Will of Allah and obeying His laws and communicating the Message as *Rasūl* to others Abraham is being declared as Imām. Abraham was sent to a particular people and age. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was sent to the whole of mankind and for all times to come:

قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا  
الَّذِي لَهُ مُلْكُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ يُحْيِي  
وَيُمِيتُ فَأَمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ الْحَنِيفَ الدِّينَ الَّذِي  
يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَكَلِمَاتِهِ وَاتَّبِعُوهُ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ ۝  
(٢:١٥٢).

All the requirements of *dīn hanīf* were fulfilled on the basis of the Verse: *al yauma akmalatō lakum dīnakum* through Muhammad (A.S.T.). Abraham carried out only certain of the injunctions (*bi kalimātin*) whereas during the historic tenure of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) the all comprehensive code

of humanity was completed. His position as Imām can well be imagined.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was a descendant of Abraham. When Abraham enquired from Allah as to whether there would be an Imām from his offspring Allah replied:

لَا يَتَّخِذُ الظَّالِمِينَ

"My covenant does not include the wrong-doers". (2:124). This refers to Jews and Christians. When the early monotheistic Christianity succumbed to shameful Greek paganism, the pure *dīn ḥanīf* of Abraham was retrieved by Muḥammad (A.S.T.)<sup>(28)</sup>. Antonyms to *ẓālim* are *muslim/mōmin*. Who is a better prototype than Muḥammad (A.S.T.) of all such virtues? The supplications of Abraham and Ishmael, made at the time of laying the foundations of Ka'bah are being granted now:

رَبَّنَا وَابْعَثْ فِيهِمْ رَسُولًا مِنْهُمْ يَتْلُو آيَاتِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ ۖ - - - إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ

"Our Rabb! And raise up in their midst from among them (Quraysh/Arabia) who shall recite unto them Thy revelations and shall instruct them in the book and in the wisdom, and shall purify them. Surely Thou, only Thou art the Mighty, the Wise" (2:129).

— As an orphan youth below twenty years of age Muḥammad (A.S.T.) started his career as a model in several respects when he grazed the sheep and goats of his neighbours. Honest independent earnings, dignity of labour, healthy pursuits, self-respect, contentment and self-confidence were the beginnings of a worldly *Imām*. When he was about 35 years of age there arose the dispute among the Quraysh about the replacement of the Blackstone. They were on the verge of fratricidal war when he through his sagacity averted the crisis to the entire

28. "... the Christian Church, which had *captivated* Rum by capitulating to pagan Greek polytheism and idolatry. From this shameful betrayal of the revelation of One True God, Islam had retrieved the pure religion of Abraham", Toynbee, A.J., *Civilisation on Trial* (Oxford, 1949), p. 76 — Of course, *not Islām but Muḥammad* (A.S.T.) has retrieved.



satisfaction of them all; and they proclaimed with one voice:

هَذَا الْإِمَامُ لِقَدَرِ مَرْضَانِيَّةٍ هَذَا مُحَمَّدٌ

‘He is the Trustworthy. To the decisions (of whom) we agree is Muḥammad’<sup>(29)</sup>.

To *Mōmin/Muslim*, Muḥammad’s (A.S.T.) contemporary humanity, today’s humanity, the humanity till the day of Judgement, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) from the Qur’anic point of view, is the Imām and should remain so. That it is his person alone which is Imām for the whole of mankind may be clear from the following Verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِنَّا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ شَاهِدًا وَمُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا ۖ وَدَاعِيًا إِلَى اللَّهِ بِإِذْنِهِ وَبِرَاجِئَاتٍ ۖ

‘O Nabi, surely We have sent thee as a witness, and a bearer of good news and a warner. And as an inviter to Allah by His permission and as light given lamp’ (33:45-6).

In the light of this Verse Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is to be judged as the sole transmitting and practising motive cause of the Divine Truth so necessary for mankind to know.

For the Muslims Muḥammad (A.S.T.) has been declared in the Qur’an as *Ra’ūf*, *Raḥīm* and *Ḥarīṣun ‘alaiikum* (solicitous or anxious for them) and for the rest of mankind as:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ ۝

‘And We have not sent thee but as a Mercy unto mankind’ (21:107).

Out of an inexhaustible treasure of Muḥammad’s (A.S.T.) achievements I can specify here only but few:

- i) It may be the question of sovereignty (dual accountability);
- ii) The inquiry into the political system ( خلافة البيت في الارض );

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29. Ibn Sa’d, *op. cit.*, I, 94; and Ṭabari, *Annales* Leiden, p. 1138.

- iii) Examination of international problems like war and peace ( (انابى الرحمة انابى المحمه )<sup>(30)</sup>);
- iv) The problem of nationalism (universal Muslim Ummah and Dominions);
- v) The issue of racialism (Ummah based on Faith and not on blood);
- vi) The pursuit towards equitable distribution of waters (Jews and Muslims and the wells of Madinah);
- vii) The solution of financial and economic problems (*zakāt* – further purification of the otherwise purified earnings);
- viii) The issue of indispensability of ethical and moral values in every walk of life;
- ix) The moot point of complete harmony between words and deeds (simultaneous practice and teaching);
- x) And the necessity of the nobility of character (cheerful humility, spontaneous forgiveness, firmness under severest trials and noble suffering for a cause)

Muḥammad (A.S.T) has bestowed limitless beneficence on the entire human race. With his multi-dimensional personality of head and heart Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is the Imām of the Ideal *Ummah* and of the ideal State.

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30. As head of the Madinah State Muḥammad (A.S.T) took command in 14 battles in which only 307 fighting opponents were killed while 127 Muslims received martyrdom, including *sayyadu's shohadā* Hamza, his uncle. When finally the Arabian Peninsula had submitted, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) has conquered about 1,12,000 sq. miles of territory in ten years. 21 years' Qureshite enmity was totally forgotten and forgiven at the time of the Conquest of Makkah. His definite and positive commandments regarding non-combatants, women folk, green fields and peaceful citizens are writ large on the pages of history.

Al-Qur'an has emphasized the integral nature of the characteristics of human personality. Although soul, mind and body may have different scopes, nevertheless they form an integrated wholeness. Allah says "Surely We created man of the best stature" (*aḥsani taqwīm*: 95:4). According to Mufti Shafī' this has a reference to man's nature. On the authority of Ibn 'Arabī the author enumerates the qualities of man thus; 'Ālim, Qādir, Samī', Baṣīr, Mudabbir and Ḥakīm<sup>(31)</sup>. The Qur'anic ideal of integration presupposes the creation and harmonious development of human personality. This basic unifying force should then be discernible in all the behaviours of man, like physical, spiritual, ethical, reflective and mental.

From the foregoing it may be clear that through the initial *silm* (total surrender to Allah) Muḥammad (A.S.T.) the 'Abd was in a state of complete harmony with his *Ma'būd*. Thus under the direct protection (*ghafara/mighfar*) of his *Rabb* his multi-dimensional characteristics resulted in integrated personality, and thereby, into perfection.

This 'abd, created for grand designs, becomes *nabī* as the recipient of the *wahī*; turns *muslim* through total surrender to the Will and Command of Allah; assumes the role of the *rasūl* through preaching the *dīn*; to prove the ascendancy of the System establishes a society and dominions as *malik*; to demonstrate the sovereignty of Allah becomes the *Khalīfah* Allah *fi 'l-ard*; and, finally breathes his last as the *Imām* of the entire humanity.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is *imāmu 'l-anbiyā' wa 'r-rusul*, *imāmu 'l-awwalīn wa 's-sābiqīn wa 'l-muta'akḥkhārīn*, *imāmu 'l-mōminīn wa 'l-muslimīn*, *imāmu 'l-khalq*, *imāmu 'l-khulafā'*, *imāmu 'l-umam*, *imāmu 'l-a'immaḥ*.

وَرَفَعْنَا لَكَ ذِكْرَكَ

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31. *Ma'āriful 'l-Qur'ān*, op. cit., viii, 775.

## DIVINE ALTERNATIVE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

### Sub-Title: SOCIETY AND DOMINIONS OF MUHAMMAD's (A.S.T.) INITIATION

From times immemorial down to our days human beings have always formed, of one sort or the other, societies and political organizations, they may be primitive, ineffective, underdeveloped, developed, elaborate or complicated, on the one hand, and, on the other, on smaller, wider, larger and broader scales. Any discussion here of the necessity of political and social organizations in man's life would be mere repetition. Nevertheless, as the society and dominions of Muhammad's (A.S.T.) creation fundamentally differ with all the earlier and prevailing norms, it is imperative to analyse the difference between the distinguishing features of the revelational experience and that of the man-made efforts and the conclusion arising therefrom .

Throughout the ages and throughout the universe there have been different reasons, purposes and motives, different ingredients, components and elements in the formation and development of society and state. Similarly, almost all societies and states differ in their aims and objects and in the realization of the ideals. Often than not, these purposes, components and objects diametrically differ from society to society and from state to state. Nay, even at times they are at logger-heads and inimical to each other.

Such being the illogical, contradictory and hopeless state of the social animals, who is to decide then, and when, as to which form of purpose, component and object would be the most suitable and conducive to the larger and larger associations of man and to the broader and broader areas of the earth?

There is, thus, the unavoidable necessity of an evolutionary worked out multidirectional universal system based on ethics and morality for a lasting social structure and political

organization wherein church and state, spirit and matter, belief and corresponding action, reason and faith go hand in hand for a supreme ethical ideal.

The crux of the problem, as it appears to the present writer, therefore, would be the *raison d'etre* of the socio-political structure, of its component parts and its ultimate object.

A great non-Muslim authority on modern political science<sup>(1)</sup> has perhaps unconsciously (?) hinted at the central theme proposed to be discussed here. While pointing out 'grave drawbacks' and 'negative effects of tremendous bearing' of the philosophy and working system as enunciated by the political scientists of the present century he contends that the question of the superiority of the 'ends and purposes' of one thinker/writer over others has turned out to be *relative* and not *absolute* (italics mine). He further argues that the present attempts are no more being made to define "best and proper, ends and means of government, right and wrong, good and evil, just and unjust". This he claims amounts to withdrawal from "value-judgements"<sup>(2)</sup>. According to him the age of opinions and speculations have gone. In other words, therefore, all scientific efforts and energies must be concentrated now on "means, ends and values"<sup>(3)</sup>. Elaborating the 'drawbacks' and 'negative effects' of the 20th Century political thought and system he recommends that in opposition to scientific solutions there ought to be 'divine' too in politics<sup>(4)</sup>. He thus concludes: "Total abstinence from the mention of divine alternative in scientific discussions is not justified. We should unbracket the divine alternative in order to maintain scholarly honesty and scientific depth of perspective"<sup>(5)</sup>.

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1. Arnold Brecht, *Political Theory: The Foundations of 20th Century Political Thought*, Princeton, 1970.

2. *Ibid*, p. 5.

3. *Ibid*, p. 490.

4. *Ibid*, p. 492.

5. *Ibid*, p. 479.

In the following pages an attempt is being made on the lines of Arnold Brecht to re-discover the Divine Alternative preached and established by Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as regards 'purposes, ends and value-judgements' in social and political life of humanity at large in terms of 'right and wrong, good and evil, just and unjust, best and proper' of an absolute nature.

With the initiation and onset of the Final Message (System) to mankind it was expected of the Qur'an to pin-point the prime-mover accountable for social and political evils prevailing in the contemporary world and this villian of the peace would always be available to infidelity *ad infinitum*. In *sūrah ar-Rūm* Allah says:

ظَهَرَ الْفَسَادُ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ بِمَا كَبَتَ أَيْدِي  
الْإِنْسَانِ،

"*Fasād* doth appear on land and sea because of (the evil) what the hands of man have done" (30:41). *Fasād* being multi-dimensional in its social and political implications, remains, like many other Qur'anic terms, untranslatable. Synonyms like 'mischief', 'corruption' convey a very limited meaning dealing perhaps with some ethical failures or individual villainy alone, although the Qur'anic term does include — when speaking in terms of land and sea — racial discrimination, national hatred, political tyranny<sup>(6)</sup>, social injustice, economic exploitation, global bloodshed and malignant immorality<sup>(7)</sup>. Neither nature nor celestial bodies, neither dialectical cause nor effect, neither circumstances nor epochs are being implicated for the catastrophe and disaster, but the deeds, rather misdeeds, of *man* alone are being held responsible. It will be seen that in the modern context 'land and sea' do include 'air and space'.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) presented to mankind three fundamental doctrines:

Unity of the Divine Being: **وحدة الله**

6. For *Fasād* leading to widespread injustice and arrogant tyranny compare the two Quranic terms **وَلْتَعْلَنَ أَعْيُنُكُمْ** and **لَتُعِيدَنَّ فِي الْأَرْضِ**

in 17:4.

7. **وَلَا تَمُشْ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا**

Unity of the *anbiyā'* وحدة النبوة ; i.e. the universality and continuity of the Divine Message; and

Unity of mankind: وحدة الانسانية

Allah the Creator, the sole Law-Giver, the lone Sovereign, the Knower of the Seen and the Unseen could have had only one common Message, the absolute Truth (*al-Haqq*) for the whole of mankind. In *al-Baqarah* and in *al-'Imrān* Allah says about the *anbiyā'/rusul*:

لَا نُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ

“(Say:) We (Muhammad’s followers) do not make any distinction between any of them” (2:136 and 3:83).

Being very emphatic that the fundamental contents and objects of the latest and final Message do in no way differ with the earlier Commandments Allah declares:

“Verily, this (Message) is in the earlier (Divine) Scriptures, Scripture to Abraham and (Scripture) to Moses” (87:18).

إِنَّ هَذَا الْقِيَاسُ الْأَوَّلِيُّ صُفِّى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَى

In *al-Baqarah* it is said:

“Mankind is a single community” (2:213)

كَانَ النَّاسُ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً

In *al-Hujurat* Allah says:

“O mankind! Lo! We have created you from male and female, and have made you tribes and families that you may know one another. Surely the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the best in conduct” (49:13).

In this way al-Qur'an is a witness to the collective life of mankind and of their being social by nature.

If according to the Qur'anic contention the Commandments are the same and humanity is indivisible, what would be the resulting corollary to that?

Ordinarily man's social and political organizations should have been based on single universal foundations and objectives, but such is not the case. There must be very weighty, convincing reasons for the same, otherwise clear Qur'anic Verses may turn problematic or rather inconsistent. In spite of its being one, why humanity could not lead an indivisible life under an undivided social and political order? Allah Himself gives the reason:

وَمَا كَانَ النَّاسُ إِلَّا أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً فَاخْتَلَفُوا

"And mankind were but one community, then they disputed/disagreed" (10:19).

They differed on what? The basic and fundamental cause of difference and disagreement was/is nothing but *Dīn* (The all pervading doctrinal and practical Code/System of life). In *sūrah al-ʾImrān* while pointing out the differences between the Jews and the Christians

"the Jews claim that the Christians follow nothing (true) and the Christians claim that the Jews follow nothing (true), yet both are readers of the (same) Scripture. . ." (2:113)

Allah admonishes the Followers of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in the words:

وَلَا تَكُونُوا كَالَّذِينَ تَفَرَّقُوا وَاخْتَلَفُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْبَيِّنَاتُ

"And be you not as those who separated and disputed after the clear arguments have come to them" (3:104). Again:

"And be not of those who associate partners (unto Him) (in power/dominions);

"Those who split up their systems of life" (30:31-32).

وَلَا تَكُونُوا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ۚ مِنَ الَّذِينَ فَرَّقُوا  
دِينَهُمْ وَكَانُوا شِيعًا



According to the terminology of al-Qur'an, *Dīn* encompasses such all embracing, comprehensive and practical collective system of life which, with eternal felicity (سعادة) in the Hereafter as its ultimate object, struggles<sup>(8)</sup> to achieve perfection in this world through عمران/معصية and ملك. Accordingly, for practical purposes humanity will have to be divided into two communities: Firstly those who willingly adopt such a system as a collective and effective way of life; and secondly those who denounce such a system. Defining the difference through a well-phrased demonstrative argument Allah concludes in *sūrah al-Kāfirūn* thus: لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ ۝

"For you is your *Dīn* and for me my *Dīn*" (109:6).

Allah thus recognizes only two types of societies and dominions, the one which will be based on revelational experience (*waḥī*) and the other on non-revelational teaching, all combined, references to which are available in al-Qur'an:

"That is because those who deny (Allah's system) and follow falsehood; and because those who believe follow the Truth from their *Rabb*" (47:3) لَيْكَ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا اتَّبِعُوا الْبَاطِلَ وَأَنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا

In *sūrah al-Imrān* it is said: اتَّبِعُوا الْحَقَّ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ

"Lo! the true *Dīn* with Allah is The Surrender (to His Will and Guidance)" (3:18), إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ

While at another place the wordings are:

"And (I have) chosen for you Total Surrender as your system of life" (5:3). وَرَفِئْتُ لَكُمْ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

On this very basis twice in al-Qur'an (21:92; and 23:52)

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8. (29:69).

"those who strive/struggle for Us, We shall certainly guide them in Our ways and Allah, verily, is with the doers of good"

Muslims have been declared as *Ummatun Wāḥidatun*, only on the condition that they would not only believe but also act accordingly. Without *amal*, *imān* remains incomplete. The complete verse is

إِنَّ هَذِهِ أُمَّتُكُمْ  
أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَأَنَا رَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُونِ ﴿٥﴾

“Verily this community of interest (*Ummah*) of yours is the indivisible *Ummah*, and I am your *Rabb*. Therefore, serve Me (alone)/Therefore be dutiful to Me (alone)”. (21:92; 23:52).

There being no dogmas in the *Dīn*, action corresponding to Faith becomes indispensable. It will now be clear that the *Dīn* being the touch-stone of division, there is no contradiction in al-Qur’an when it declares, one and at the same time, humanity as one and then recognizes its divisions into two. That Allah regards the rest of the systems (*Adyan*) as one is clear from the verse:

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى  
وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَكُورَةُ الشِّرْكَوْنَ ﴿٥﴾

“He it is Who sent His Rasūl with the guidance and the true *Dīn*, that He may make it overcome the systems, all of them” (9:33; 48:28 and 61:9).

Allah does not make any distinction whatsoever among all such societies which may be in contra-distinction to the community of Muḥammad’s (A.S.T.) creation, whenever they flourish, wherever they are. Allah says:

وَيُذِيقُ بَعْضَكُمْ بَأْسَ بَعْضٍ أَنْظُرْ كَيْفَ نُصَرِّفُ  
الْآيَاتِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَفْقَهُوْنَ ﴿٦٥﴾

“Giving you (followers of different systems) a taste of mutual vengeance – Each from the other. See how We explain the signs by various symbols that they may understand” (6:65).

We may now be able to appreciate as to what would be

the constructional constituents ( **الاجزء التركيبية** ) of Muslim society and dominions according to al-Qur'an and that of the rest of the systems of the world. Mundane ability of thought and action may flood open the arena of pure material advancement but it cannot pave the way for ethical and lasting civilization. It may also be clear that in the absence of a society the existence and enforcement of legal code is meaningless. Conversely speaking, the presence of a legal code does entail the functioning of a social order<sup>(9)</sup>. By making society and law interdependent ( **لازم وملتزم** ) Allah has ordained them in the very nature of man.

Of the non-Qur'anic society and state there can be two types of constructional constituents, from material point of view and from conceptual point of view. A society and state can be formed, raised and developed on the basis of race, colour, nationality, nation, homeland, geographical boundaries and language. On the other hand, they can also be raised on the basis of necessity ( **ضرورة** ), greed and infatuation ( **هوى/هوس** )<sup>(10)</sup>, domination ( **تسلط** ), material growth ( **توسيع المادى** )<sup>(11)</sup> and ideational expansion ( **توسيع العقائدى** ), including selfish and petty outlook<sup>(12)</sup>, although all these *Adyān* (the systems) overlook one very important fact:

وَلَهُ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ

9. In Qur'an there are several Verses dealing with society and dominions, such as 22:5 (purposeful creation); 2:31 (knowledge and wisdom); 7:29 (self-retrospect); 4:58 (justice); 4:135 (trustworthiness); 16:90 (avoidance of evil and immorality).
10. There awaits a severe chastisement (9:24) for such individuals or groups of individuals who indulge in agnate selfishness, depriving others of nature's bounties, questionable business, fabulous living – which are against the spirit of sacrifice and true civilization.
11. **توسيع المادى** can also be termed **الطغيان المادى** ; and **توسيع العقائدى** can also be termed **الزحف العقائدى**
12. While declaring "Do you then remain under the impression that We have created you in jest and that you would not be brought back to Us" (23:115) Allah totally discards the theory of (survival of the fittest) **البقاء للأصلح** of Darwin and Herbert Spencer.

[Charles Robert Darwin (1809-82) (*Origin of Species*, 1859); Herbert Spencer. 1820-1903 (*The Principles of Sociology*, 1876-96) ]

“And Allah’s is the sequel of events” (22:41).

Therefore, the collective system of life (طريقة الجماعية) must be so worked out and developed so as to be compatible with and conducive to the universal human aspirations and needs, such as love and fear of an omnipotent unseen power, superb morality, equity, brotherhood, classless and nationless association.

It will, hence, be no surprise that *al-Nabī al-Ummī* (A.S.T.) trampled under his feet purely on the basis of Qur’anic teachings (the revelational experience), those very constructional constituents of society and state which are regarded today as the ‘proud achievement’ of the modern world. When he established the Madinah State in the year 1 A.H., the second sentence of the constitutional document, which he himself dictated<sup>(13)</sup>, ran as follows:

إِنَّمَا أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ مِّنْ دُونِ النَّاسِ

“And verily the (*mōminīn/muslimīn*) are one *Ummah* rest against the mankind<sup>(14)</sup>”.

Is it not remarkable that under those Seventh Century conditions how abundantly politically conscious (inadequate Western phrase) was the Rasūl (A.S.T.)?

This declaration was in the light of *wahī*.

The *sūrah al-Anbiyā*’ and *al-Mō’minūn*, referred to above, on the basis of which this brotherhood of the Muslims was created, belong to the 5th and 12th years of the Makkan period, respectively, when a society and a state were still in embryo.

13. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Band I, Teil I, p. 341.

Cf. present author’s book *Kitābu r-Rasūl* (Karachi, 1984).

14. A great jurist, Traditionist, political thinker and social reformer of South Asia Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1702-63) in his books *budūr al-bāzigha*, p. 33; *hujjat allāh al-bālighah* (I, 176 ff; II, 577) and *Izāla al-khafa’an khilāfa al-khulafā*’ (II, 338-42) has discussed this aspect at great length.

Such a universal state must also have had universal citizens as the members of this Community of Interest (*Ummah*). They are not far to seek. They can be easily located: The Quraish of Makkah, the Aus and Khazraj of Yathrib (who were indulging in internecine civil wars till the other day), Bilāl Ḥabashī, representing the African Continent, Zaid b. Hārithah the Syrian, representing Eastern Roman Empire, Salmān the Persian, Suhaib of Byzantine Empire<sup>(15)</sup>, ‘Abdullah b. Salām<sup>(16)</sup> and Khālida bint al-Ḥārith, representing the Jewish community of Yathrib. King of Abyssinia, though not a resident-member, should also be considered as a part of the *Ummah*, because when the news of his death was received by Muḥammad (A.S.T.), he offered *ṣalāt al-jañāzah* for him<sup>(17)</sup>. Three continents being represented: *yā uli’l-abṣār!*

فَاعْتَبِرُوا يَا أُولِيَ الْأَبْصَارِ

It is most probable that the coming human generations will pronounce the people of our era as *jāhil* and the modern systems of governments as based on ignorance (جاهلية). Censuring such people and generations who establish their systems on the basis of low desires Allah asks *أَحْكُمُ الْجَاهِلِيَّةَ يَبْغُونَ*

“Is it then the rule of ignorance that they desire?” (5:50).

Addressing Muslims as transgressors (الْفَاسِقُونَ), who

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15. According to the Tradition (*ḥadīth*) of the Rasūl (A.S.T.), Bilāl and Suhaib are ‘the first fruits of the lands of Abyssinia and Byzantines’ cf. Ibn Sa’d, *ṭabaqāt*, ed. E. Sachau, *et al* (Leiden/Berlin); II, pt. I, p. 83.
  16. Before conversion to Islam this ‘Abdullah was a famous Jewish *Rabbī*, vide Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah*, III, 200-1, (Miṣr 1351/1932).
  17. Al-Wāḥidī, *asbāb al-nuzūl*, p. 26, (Miṣr, 1315/1899).

turn back after clear signs (*āyāt*) Allah asks them:

أَفَعَدَّ لِلَّهِ يُبْعَثُونَ

“Seek they then other than Allah’s system (*dīn*)” (3:82)?

Thus every such social and political structure which will be based in contradistinction to the very nature of man, will have to be regarded as a system of ignorance ( نظام الجاهلي ), be it pre-historic, ancient, medieval or modern. In *sūrah ar-Rum* Allah says:

فَأَوَّحَ وَجْهَكَ لِلدِّينِ حَنِيفًا فَنُفِرَتِ اللَّهُ إِلَيْهِ قَطَرِ النَّاسِ عَلَيْهَا لَا

تَبْدِيلَ لِيَخْلَقِ اللَّهُ ذَٰلِكَ الدِّينَ الْقَيُّمُ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾ 30:30

“So devote your whole existence to the Upright *Dīn*”<sup>(18)</sup>.

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18. Here *Dīn Ḥanīf* may mean the ‘Upright Path’ but it would always mean the Commandments or Code given to Abraham, because from the first to the last day of his Mission Muhammad (A.S.T.) regarded himself as Abraham’s follower.

I reproduce below different and conflicting translations of the *āyat* in question and leave to the readers to make their own selection. I admit that I might be wrong. Pickthall translates:

“So set thy purpose (O Muḥammad) for religion as a man by nature upright – the nature (framed) of Allah, in which He hath created man. There is no altering (the laws of) Allah’s creation. That is the right religion, but most men know not—”.

Ismā‘īl Rājī al-Fārūqī translates:

“Turn your face to the primordial religion as a *ḥanīf*. That is the natural religion which God made innate in all humans, without exception. Most people, however, do not know” (His book *Tawḥīd*, Kaula Lampur, 1402 H., fn. 13, p. 347).

Muḥammad Ali (Lāhorī) translates:

“So set thy face for religion, being upright, the nature made by Allah in which He has created men. There is no altering Allah’s creation. That is the right religion – but most people know not” (Lahore, 1951).

Muḥammad Shafī translates (in Urdu):

“So keep thine face upright on *dīn*, remaining on one side. That very cut (*tarāsh*) of Allah on which (He) had cut the people. Do not change what Allah had created. This is the straight *dīn*, but most people do not understand” (*ma‘ārif*, VI, 739).

(Establish) Allah's handiwork according to the very nature on which He has made mankind. No change (let there be) in the system (wrought) by Allah; that is the abiding Code. But most people know not".

*Dīn* depends on *anbiyā'*, who in turn, depend on *wahī*, while *wahī* is *amr rabb*. And the affairs of man are controlled by Allah. This is the stage whence cognition ( **عِرْفَانٌ** ) of Divine Will is obtained, the constructional constituents of society and state start functioning, object of collective life is determined and the ideal is pursued at. Allah says:

وَأَمَّا بِنَزْلِ عَلٰى مُحَمَّدٍ

وَهُوَ الْحَقُّ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ كَفَرَ عَنْهُمْ سَيِّئَاتِهِمْ وَأَصْلَمَ بِالْهَمِّ ①

"And believe in that (Revelation) sent down to Muḥammad – for it is the Truth from their *Rabb*" (47:2).

Felicity in the Hereafter ( **السَّعَادَةُ الْآخِرَةُ** ), allegorically known as *al-Jannah*, being the ultimate goal, cannot be arrived at without felicity in this world ( **السَّعَادَةُ الدُّنْيَوِيَّةُ** ). No collective perfection or happiness can be achieved without *mulk* (dominions), while *mulk* depends on *sultān* (power/authority). A state cannot exist without the functioning of a **مُعَاشِرَةٌ**. And the desired ideal state **المَدِينَةُ الْفَاضِلَةُ** (in opposition to **مُظَنُّونَهُ** – based on presumptions) cannot start functioning without the (Straight Path) **صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ** being known (6:39), which Allah mentions as *ḥabl Allah*:

"And hold fast altogether to the Covenant of Allah and be not divided among yourself . . ." (3:103).

According to al-Qur'an the foundations of the society and state of 'the submissive ones' are based on six constituents: *mulk*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ma'rūf*, *mankar* and 'the end of affairs':

وَمَنْ يَتَّبِعِ الْفِتْنَةَ يَتَّبِعِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ الْهُدَىٰ وَ  
يَتَّبِعِ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ تُولَّاهُ مَا تَوَلَّى

“Those who, if We empower them in the land, will establish *ṣalāt* and enforce *zakāt* and enjoin good and forbid wrong and Allah’s is the end of affairs” (22:41)<sup>(19)</sup>.

After entering into Covenant with Allah and becoming ‘submissive ones’, a Muslim has no other option but to perpetuate the society and dominion founded by Muhammad (A.S.T.). Allah says:

“And if any one disputes with the Rasūl even after guidance has been manifested unto him and follows a system other than that becoming to men of Faith, We shall leave him in the path he has chosen” (4:114).

*Ṣalāt* is the sole guarantor of sublime morals, brotherhood, equality, physical and spiritual cleanliness<sup>(20)</sup> and humility; *zakāt* further purifies the otherwise lawful earnings and is the vital subsidy for the Public Treasury and thus Divine surety to الدولة الزناهيّة / الفلاحية (social needs) – “and pay *Zakāt* and loan to Allah a goodly loan” (73:20), although He being *aṣ-Ṣamad* is above needs. The importance of the two institutions can well be judged that although being part of *ma’rūf* have been discussed first and independently<sup>(21)</sup>. Next come *ma’rūf* and *munkar*. The excell-

19.

الَّذِينَ إِنْ مَكَّنَّاهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا  
الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمْرُوهُمْ بِالْعُرْفِ وَهُمْ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَلِلَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ

20. After the ‘*reconquista*’ Ferdinand and Isabella closed through an ordinance all the public baths throughout their kingdom.

21. As soon as the Rasūl (A.S.T.) succeeded through *time* to have *space*, the first thing he did was to construct *masjid* for compulsory congregational *ṣalāt*. Subsequently *zakāt* was also imposed.



ence of a society lies in its enjoining good and forbidding wrong both in public and private sectors<sup>(22)</sup>. This entails total and unqualified submission to Allah, as opposed to any mundane subservience whatsoever. Thus معاشره and<sup>(23)</sup> *mulk* are not an end in themselves but means to the ultimate end of *sa'adah*. Let mankind again witness Mu'ashira and secular society and state which adopt *amr bi'l-ma'ruf wa nahaw'an al-munkar* as the very ideal for الخير الكثير (*summum bonum*).

Then who will be the citizens of this divinely envisaged universal society and state created by Muḥammad (A.S.T.)? When the foundations of such a society and state are being based on *waḥī* then naturally *ḥāmil al-waḥī* (*nabī*, the recipient of the Divine Message) must be its first citizen. Allah orders Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to confess:

“Say: My worship and my sacrifice and my life and my death are surely for Allah the Rabb of the worlds;

“No associate has He. And this I am commanded (to pronounce) and I am the first of those who submit (in totality)” (6:163-64).

Allah again commands Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to proclaim:

قُلْ إِنِّي هَدَانِي رَبِّيَ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ دِينًا قِيمًا مِلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ  
حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ⑤

“Say: Verily my *Rabb* has guided me to (the only) Straight Path the enduring Code – the Path (trod) by Abraham who was *ḥanīf* (the upright one)” (6:161).

22. In 3:103 Allah commands:

“(O mankind) there ought to be a community from amongst you who invites (people) towards virtue, enjoins upon them the known (goodness) and forbids (them) from wrong”:

وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْعُرْفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ

23. As Allah dislikes the modern conception of 'state', perhaps for this reason its equivalent word not employed in al-Qur'an. Hence not available in Arabic language too.

The status of *nabī* (here Muḥammad) (A.S.T.) among the political hierarchy in a government (أرباب السلطة) must be manifest at this stage. As the first Muslim (one who submits to Allah in totality) is now available, the beginnings of Allah's society and dominions are being laid. Such a personality henceforth in addition to being a *muslim* and *nabī* will also function as *rasūl*, *malik* and *khalīfah* Allah and finally *imām* of the universal Muslim society and dominions<sup>(24)</sup> -*Rasūl* in the sense of practicing and communicating truly the entire Message. Allah being *al-Qādir*, *al-Zāhir*, *al-Rāziq*, *al-Qadīr*, Lord of the Seen and the Unseen is the sovereign in a given Islamic society<sup>(25)</sup>. To Him belongs the Command and to Him belongs the Laws, the Glory and the Power.

As sovereignty of the entire universe belongs to Allah and more so in an Islamic system, the functional head who is in possession of the representative/agential, *de facto* powers only, can only be known by the term *nā'ib/khalīfah*, because he is enforcing and promulgating the Divine Commands instead of man-made laws (38:26). In *sūrah al-Baqarah* and in *sūrah al-Anbiyā'* Abraham and Jacob have been addressed as *imām*, respectively. *Malik* denotes the actual political position; *khalīfah* denotes the representative character and *imām* as the highest model in all walks of life. Muḥammad

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24. In Qur'an Saul has been declared as *malik* (2:247), David as *khalīfah* (38:26) and Abraham as *imām* (2:124).

25. For unquestionable, untransferable, immediate and direct sovereignty of Allah in any given Islamic society and dominion there are several Verses in al-Qur'an. To give a few: 3:25 (*mālik al-mulk*); 42:49 (dominions over Heavens and earth); 6:57 (laws from Him alone); 25:2 (none shares in His laws); 17:111 (none shares in His dominions).

(A.S.T.) being the last of the *nabī* (33:40) and Message to him being final<sup>(26)</sup>, his actions, decisions, deeds and ordinary conduct ( *Sunnah* ) must be of such an explanation, exposition, interpretation and elucidation of Qur'an that he must remain excellent guide and praiseworthy and practicable leader (*shāri'*). That in that respect he does enjoy a distinct, comprehensive and clear authority asserts al-Qur'an so emphatically:

مَنْ يُطِيعِ الرَّسُولَ فَقَدْ أَطَاعَ اللَّهَ

"Whosoever obeys the Rasūl he indeed obeys Allah" (4:80).

Obedience to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) – and to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) alone – is thus a Qur'anic injunction. A more distinguishing and significant characteristic of this last *Rasūl* is thus pronounced

لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ  
لِمَنْ كَانَ يَرْجُوا اللَّهَ وَالْيَوْمَ الْآخِرَ وَذَكَرَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا

"Certainly you have in the *Rasūl* of Allah an excellent exemplar for him who hopes in Allah and the Latter Day" (33:21).

One who

presents to mankind his whole span of 63 years of life<sup>(27)</sup> (day in and day out, in open and in secret, in company and in seclusion) as an open book for scrutiny, and, thereby, as

26. Abu Bakr as the first head of the *Khilāfah* after Muḥammad (A.S.T.) dealt with the *kidhāqāb* (false prophets) at the point of sword and wiped them out then and there.

27.

فَقَدْ لَيْسْتُ فِيكُمْ غُزْرًا مِنْ قَبْلِهِ أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ

: "I have did spend among you a life time before this. Have you then no sense!" (10:16)

model;  
 establishes society and dominion from scratch;  
 legislates and promulgates the laws of the realm;  
 wages total war against *Fasād*;  
 depicts the moral arts of war and peace;  
 leads armies and fights as soldier;  
 maintains international relations;  
 acts as Judge and Court of Appeals;  
 settles water disputes;  
 keeps check on morals;  
 introduces interestless economic system;  
 substantiates *ṣalāt* and *zakāt* as key to human moral and economic solutions;  
 harmonizes science with religion;  
 bridles philosophy to belief in the unseen ( إيمان بالغيب );  
 enjoys perfect health;  
 works as an ordinary labourer;  
 lives as affectionate husband and father;  
 suffers willingly for the Cause;  
 displays firmness in danger,  
 takes revenge on tyrants only;  
 forgives his enemies;  
 feels sure in his ultimate success<sup>(28)</sup>;  
 demonstrates steadfastness in trials;  
 shows humility in the hour of triumph;  
 plays with children;  
 exhibits highest moral virtues;

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28. In the 5th Year of the Call while in Makkah once he (A.S.T) decided to enter the Holy Sancturary to offer worship to his Allah but the key-bearer (*ḥājib al-bait*) 'Uṭhmān b. Ṭalḥah, an infidel, would not allow. On being refused, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) remarked; "O 'Uṭhmān you will see that one day this key would be in my hands and I would entrust it to whomsoever I like." 'Uṭhmān, spell-bound because of determination, allowed him to enter the Ka'bah. Sixteen years afterwards (January 630/8 a.h.) at the time of the Conquest of Makkah, 'Uṭhmān, still the key-bearer, surrendered it to the conqueror, who, in turn, entrusted it back to 'Uṭhmān because he had embraced the Faith, then and there. Vide: *al-Isābah*, Ibn Ḥajar, II, pp. 452-53 No. 5442, (Misr, 1939/1358).

looks after the needy and the orphan;  
and  
fulfills the Divine Mission in totality  
is none else except Muḥammad (A.S.T.).  
Such was the historical necessity.

So the first citizen happens to be *nabī*, *rasūl*, *malik*, *khalīfah* and *imām*, simultaneously. The list of the rest of the citizens is also provided in al-Qur'an. According to *sūrah al-nisā'* and *al-ḥadīd* (4:68/57:19) the second in order of merit are *صديقون*, third are *طالحين* and the fourth are *شهداء*. *Ṣiddīq* is one who verifies *al-Ḥaqq* intuitionally. It may be noted here that Abu Bakr was neither the first nor the last of the *صديق*. How many *Ṣiddīqs* have been there in the societies and dominions of the earlier *anbiyā'*<sup>(29)</sup> and how many *Ṣiddīqs* still exist in the *ummat Muḥammadīyah* of today, we do not know. *شاهد* (pl. *شهداء*) is the witness to the truthfulness of the *Dīn*. Terms like *ṣulḥā* (doers of good) and *atqiyā'* (pious) are well understood. The citizens of the Islamic dominions can now be categorized as<sup>(30)</sup>:

People of (moral) excellence, (abundant) goodness and (spiritual) felicity:

النَّاسُ الْفَاضِلِينَ وَالْأَخْيَارَ وَالسَّعْدَاءِ

'Total surrender' as *Dīn* is a philosophy of action and a way of life. It is not a religious dogma but a realistic and a practical doctrinal Code of conduct. It claims itself to be a world movement based on permanent values of life. It is all-embracing in its nature. Human knowledge being imperfect, all-

29. In 5:75 Mary the mother of Jesus has been declared in Qur'an as the *Ṣiddīqah* simply because she testified to the truth of the *nabuwah* and *risālah* of her son even when Jesus was in cradle.

30. While delivering a *khuṭbah* at the field of Tabūk (9 a.h.) the Rasūl (A.S.T.) said:

إِنَّ مِنْ خَيْرِ النَّاسِ رَجُلًا عَمِلَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ

"Such a person who took steps in the Path of Allah is amongst people of goodness". vide *al-bidāyah*, op. cit. V, 13.

comprehensive and all-embracing guidance is necessary in every walk of life. Al-Qur'an provides all such details:

هُدًى لِلنَّاسِ وَبَيِّنَاتٍ مِنَ الْهُدَى وَالْفُرْقَانِ فَمَنْ شَهِدَ مِنْكُمُ الشَّهْرَ

“A guidance to mankind and clear proofs of the guidance and the criterion” (2:185).

Again it is said:

وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ عِوَجًا

“And allowed not therein any crookedness” (18:1).

Two attributes of al-Qur'an are described here: one about its perfection and the second to make others perfect. In Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) system the state, the *Khālīfah*, the *Ummah* and the individual cannot be treated separately. Religion and politics cannot be placed into water-tight compartments. For a world of spirit a Muslim need not renounce the world of matter. Morality and economic life are interdependent. Al-Qur'an explains everything in a harmonious whole:

وَوَرَّأَيْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ رَبِّيَّ إِنَّا لَكُلِّ شَيْءٍ

“And We have revealed the book to thee (O Muḥammad) explaining all things (essentials)” (16:89).

The *dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is a single unanalysable reality. It is an on-going historical enterprise. It is both creative and responsible. Wheels of civilisation could be pushed forward through elasticity of progressivism. In the absence of ideal, power is bound to be misused, while in the absence of power, the ideal cannot be achieved. Allah's handiwork will thus have to be realized through society and dominions.

This 'Total Surrender' (*al-Islām*) claims itself to be, in a straight forward manner, the vital determining factor in the lives of clans, tribes, nations and therefore cannot permit social or political speculations through trial and error. To illustrate, the Western writers on al-Maghrib (North Africa) since early 1930s are trying to convince the people of the area that the spirit of nationalism now traceable in them was the direct outcome of the 'colonial blessings', whereas the

nationalist writers, while rejecting this suggestion, feel their moorings in the historical past of Islam<sup>(31)</sup>.

With Muḥammad (A.S.T.) the polity was not an end in itself but it was a means to a certain end — *Sa'ādah* in the Hereafter. In *sūrah al-Hūd* twice the word *Sa'ādah* has been used in this sense:

يَوْمَ يَأْتِ لَا تَكَلِّمُ نَفْسٌ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ فَمِنْهُمْ شَقِيٌّ وَسَعِيدٌ ۝

"On the Day when it comes no soul will speak except by His permission; so (some) of them will attain felicity and (others) will be inauspicious" (verse 105).

Again, وَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ سُودُوا فَمِنْهُمْ جَاهِلُونَ وَلَهُمْ أَزْوَاجٌ

"And as far those who are given happiness (felicity) they will be in *al-Jannah* abiding therein" (Verse 108).

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) established a definite type of polity and put forth an ethical ideal as its object<sup>(32)</sup>. Perfection of humanity becomes the end of such a society and dominion. The *sultān* (power/governance); being an *amānat* (trust) from Allah, contemplates a theo-political joint responsibility — the *khilāfah* (commonwealth of the Ummah).

31. For a fuller discussion vide art. *Problems in the interpretation of the history of the Maghrib in the light of some recent publications* by Michael Brett in *Journal of African History* XIII, 3 (1972) pp. 489-506. Compare also:

Al-Fāṣī, 'Allāl, *The Independence Movements in Arab North Africa*; trans; by Nuseibeh, Washington, 1954, and Abun Naṣr, Jamil M. "The Salafiyya movement in Morocco; etc". St. Antony's Papers, Middle Eastern Affairs, ed. A. Hourani, London, 1963, No. 3.

32. It is said that the virtuous and pious *amīr* of al-Andalus *Hishām* I (788-96 A.C.) son of 'Abd al-Rahmān I though a great statesman and warrior, who established the Islamic rule on firm footing in South-Western Europe, otherwise devoted all his capabilities mostly to earn *Sa'adah* in the world to come. Cf. ibn al-Khatīb, *A'mal al-ā'lām*, ed. Levi Provencal, Beirut, 1956, p. 11; and ibn al-Qūṭiyah, *tārīkh iftitāh al-andalus*, ed. A. al-Tabba' (Beirut, 1957, pp. 65 ff.)

Qur'an no doubt acts as an injunctive authority. It expects voluntary adherence but this *mufsid*, the man, may not heed moral warning. Hence the necessity of an authoritative institution. This is how 'Uthmān b. 'Affan, the third Caliph, has put it:

"If the *nahī* (forbiddance) of a *munkar* (evil) is not workable through Qur'an Allah accomplishes it through *khilāfah*".

Allah says:

يَا دَاوُدُ إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاكَ خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ فَاحْكُم بَيْنَ  
النَّاسِ بِالْحَقِّ وَلَا تَتَّبِعِ الْهَوَىٰ فَيُضِلَّكَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ

"O David surely We made thee *khaliḥfah*/ruler in the land. So enforce laws on the basis of the Truth and make not your own laws (to follow low desires) lest it lead thee astray from the path of Allah" (38:26).

Abu Bakr was not the first *khaliḥfah* from the days of Adam neither 'Abdul Majid II should be the last. Allah says:

"Allah has promised (*wa'ada*) to those of you who believe and act righteously that He will surely make them rulers (*istakhḥlafa*) in the earth as He made those before them rulers and that He will surely establish for them (*makkannāhum*) their *Dīn* which He has chosen for them and that He will surely give them optimism in exchange after their (period of) anxiety. They must serve Me, not associating ought with Me. And whoever is ungrateful (*kafara*) after this (clear promise) they are the transgressors (*fāsiqūn*)" (24:55).

What now follows is the discussion of the Institution of *Khilāfat* and not the individual *Khulafā'*.

*Khilāfat, sultān*, dominions and governance did not start with Abu Bakr, neither it ceased to exist with the early Caliphs. In the above Verse a lasting and binding assurance is being given by Allah if a *mu'ashirah* and dominion fulfil certain



conditions<sup>(33)</sup>. It includes the Umayyads of Damascus and Spain, the Abbasids of Baghdad and the 'Uthmānīs of Istanbul. Any attempt of today<sup>(34)</sup> or tomorrow remains included. If there were any periods of anxiety as was the case in earlier periods or as is the case since 1924, Allah promises ( ان وعد الله الحق ) that He will change it into unity, peace, success, provided the Muslims submit to His authority alone and do not adopt other 'isms' or systems as their guide.

In *sūrah al-An'ām* (6:160) and in *al-Rūm* (30:32) Allah denounces fissiparous tendencies resulting in split in *dīn* and turning shismatic. While commenting on the *āyat* of *istakhlaḥa* (making *Khulafā'*/rulers) and *tamakkun* (governance/power) (*al-Nūr*, 24:55), discussed in the earlier paragraph, through which an everbinding and everimplementing promise (*wa'ada*) of *Khilāfah* was made to the *Mōminīn* by Allah *Subḥānahū wa Ta'ālā*, Imām Baghawī (d. 510 or 516 a.h.) maintains that all the *mufasssīrūn* are unanimous that the Qur'anic reference in this *āyat* to '*wa man kafara ba'da dhālika*' (and those who turn ungrateful henceforth) initially applied to the murderers of the third Caliph 'Uthmān because in so doing they deprived the *Ummah* of much of Allah's *ni'mah* (bounties) by perpetuating *fisq* through *kufrānu'n-ni'mah*<sup>(35)</sup>.

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33. At several places Allah has made an ever implementing promise for the *Sulṭān* of such people who are *Muttaqī* and *Suāleḥ* e.g. 24:55; 21:105.

34. In May 1926 the *Khilāfat* Congress (Cairo) unanimously decided that the establishment of the Institution of *Khilāfat* was obligatory on the Muslims. In 1931 the late Mufti Amīn al-Husainī tried in this very direction. Lately the Islamic Summits held at Rabat (Morocco, 1969) and at Lahore (Pakistan 1974) etc. are attempts at Umma's solidarity.

35. *Ma'ālimu'l-Tanzīl*, as *hāmish* (margin) on the *tafsīr* of *Khāzin* (*Lubāb al-Tā'wīl*) IV, 87 (Misr, 1375/1955).

This is how the universality of a righteous society and dominions should transcend the limitations of time and space. Thus to realize the *sa'ādah* in this world and ultimately in the Hereafter, the Institution of *Khilāfah* must always remain an integral part of any social or political structure of the united Muslim *Ummah*. Hence the Rasūl (A.S.T.) declared:

مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَيْسَ فِي عُنُقِهِ بَيْعُ خَلِيفَةٍ مَاتَ مَيِّتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً (36)

This approach has nothing to do with pan-Islamism because religio-socio-political solidarity of the Muslims is as old as the *dīn* itself:

“The Believers are one brotherhood so make peace between brethren and keep your duty to Allah that mercy may be had on you” (49:10).

The above discussion has nothing to do with fanaticism, reactionary spirit or theocracy. To tell exactly what you honestly seek in al-Qur'an and in the *sunnah* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is not bigotry. Our *dīn* does not recognize either priesthood or any sacerdotal authority, and, therefore, the question of theocracy does not arise in our system of life. We the Muslims of today belong to a distinct and vibrant past and to a destined future yet to be materialized.

In the beginning I posed the question:

“... who is to decide then and when as to which form of purpose, component and object would be the most suitable and conducive to the larger and larger association of men and to the broader and broader areas of the earth?”

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36. “(If) one is dead without the yoke of *Khalīfa's bai't* (Oath of Fealty) round his neck he (certainly) dies the Death of Ignorance” Muslim, *ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitābu ʿimārah* (Cairo, Misriyah press, 1924), vol. VII, p. 240.

I, therefore, be allowed to conclude that the Muslims of today owe to posterity the duty to demonstrate to mankind that the Divine Alternative of *awāmir* and *nawāhī* as enunciated and worked upon by Allah's 'Chosen' (*muṣṭafā*) *Nā'ib/Khālīfah* Muḥammad (A.S.T.), is the only honest solution to its all socio-political problems.

The tragedy would be to give up trying:

“And whoso does not rule by that which Allah has revealed: such are disbelievers/iniquitous/transgressors” (5, 44, 45, 47).

وَمَنْ لَّمْ يَحْكَمْ بِهَا  
 أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ ۝  
 فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ ۝  
 فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ ۝

## HIJRATU 'N-NABĪ

### — BACKGROUND, CAUSES, IMPLICATIONS AND RESULTS

In the 13th year of the Call (*Ba'tha*) Muḥammad (A.S.T.) forsook the city of his birth for ever and adopted Yathrib, to be now known as Madīnatu'n-Nabī as his new center of activities. In Qur'anic terminology this milestone is known as Hijrah. *Sīrah* writers, medieval Muslim historians and both Muslim and non-Muslim modern writers have given various and sometime conflicting background and causes of this otherwise epoch-making land-mark in the on-going career of Muhammad (A.S.T.), the Rasūl of Allah.

Was Muhammad (A.S.T.) forced to leave Makkah because of the extraneous influences or *Hijrah* was a well-planned scheme with his Allah? Was Hijrah an incident by chance in the life of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) or else he was well aware of its working and consequences? Did Hijrah bring about a sudden and unexpected change in Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) life or his every step was logical link towards the evolutionary process he was working for? Did the Makkan opposition leaders actually conspire to kill Muḥammad (A.S.T.)? What was the real object with Allah and His Rasūl behind the scheme of *Hijrah*?

Usually the following causes of Hijrah are told:

1. Death of Abū Tālib (this was his *Kunyah*, his name being 'Abdu Manāf).

2. Death of Khadijatu'l-Kubrā', the First Mother of the Faithful.
3. The daily increasing Makkan opposition and atrocities.
4. Utter failure of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as regards preaching and conversion.
5. Unsuccessful trip to Aṭ-Ṭā'if.
6. Total darkness regarding future prospects in Makkah.
7. The final 'conspiracy to kill him'.

None of these causes, even remotely, has anything to do whatsoever with *Hijrah*.

Both Abū Ṭālib and Khadijah died in the 10th year of the Call, while Hijrah took place three years later. Alas that, according to Bukhārī, Abū Ṭālib died on the *dīn* of his father 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>(1)</sup>. Of what support Abū Ṭālib could have been towards the success of the *Dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and its on going enterprise?

Khadijah was definitely more than an ordinary wife, being helpful, sympathetic and accommodative. She was the first to believe in her husband. Mother of his two sons and four daughters, Khadijah was a source of great consolation to Muḥammad (A.S.T.). At the time of her death she was about 64 years of age. Normally elders die earlier. That her death was to have any negative effect on the future role of Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) mission should remain beyond comprehension.

Personal loss is something else<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1. Ṣaḥīḥ. Bukhārī, *Bāb al-Janā'iz*, I, 548 (Merruth 1328 H). As 'Azzām Pāsha puts it " - - - Abu Ṭālib was never converted to the new religion" (*The Eternal Message of Muhammad*, N.Y., 1964), p. 6.

2. The term '*Ām al-Huzn*' has been used.

From the 3rd year of the Call, when public preaching started <sup>(3)</sup>, till the 'Surrender of Makkah' in the 8th year of *Hijrah* the Makkans left no stone unturned in vilifying Muḥammad (A.S.T.), perpetuating persecutions on him and on his followers, inflicting injuries and trying to uproot Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) *Dīn*. Severity might have lessened here and there but not the enmity. Were the *Dā'ī* and *Shāri'* and his righteously converted pious souls so chicken-hearted as to submit to evanescent physical tortures and discomforts? The loftiness of soul can never be intimidated. Were the teachings of the *Dīn* and its charm so much ineffective that these believers in *lā quwwata illā bi Allāh* could have fled away because of hardships? One should not forget that there was an occasion during this very period of tortures and miseries when the Quraysh tried to approach Muḥammad (A.S.T.) through Abū Ṭālib as intermediary when they offered Muḥammad (A.S.T.) riches and authority if he was prepared to abandon his mission:

وَلَوْ لَا فَضْلُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ وَرَحْمَتُهُ لَهَمَّتْ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْهُمْ  
 أَنْ يُضِلُّوكَ وَمَا يُضِلُّونَ إِلَّا أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَبَايِعُوا نَبِيَّكَ مِنْ  
 شَيْءٍ (4:113)

"But for the grace of Allah upon thee (O Muḥammad) and His mercy, a party of them have resolved to mislead thee but they will mislead only themselves and they will hurt thee not at all". And because of those very tortures and persecutions Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was to flee at a later stage? What an inconsistent argument?

As a rule, when an 'abd of Allah girdles up his loins for the righteous cause then neither temptation can bewitch him nor opposition can intimidate him. Such a pious soul is firm in his determination and stubborn in his designs.

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3. *Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn Sa'd, I, 200, (Beirut, 1960) and I, 135, (Leiden, 1323 H/1905).

And for that matter the *Khātiman-nabiīn* was sent to deliver the Code of life to the entire humanity, which was both desired and indispensable.

They say: 'During Makkan stay Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was not only constantly belied but became the target of slander and remained unsuccessful; out of a population running into thousands he could convert only about 200 souls in 13 years; could there be a greater misfortune; then where was the sense in wasting more time in the city of his birth; to wipe away the blot of ignominy and failure he must search pastures new!'

Apparently there appears to be much attraction in the above conjectures but in the face of actual scrutiny they — individually or collectively — cannot withstand the test.

Before it is discussed whether at Makkah Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was a failure or not, it is imperative to understand the term 'failure' itself in the present context. If what is attributed as 'failure' by the Quraysh of Makkah, the *Sīrah* writers; medieval and modern historians (both Muslims and non-Muslims) was no failure at all, then the question of 'failure' would not arise. The question is whether during his Makkan stay did Muḥammad (A.S.T.) expect large scale conversion, numerical strength and show of power? Definitely not. Then what did he actually aspire for? This I will point out at a later stage. Honestly speaking, in view of his immediate objectives his was *significant success* at Makkah. This also I shall elaborate later on.

Another story runs that the unsuccessful trip to aṭ-Ṭā'if shattered his nerves. This is also incorrect. Firstly, the treatment meted out by the citizens of aṭ-Ṭā'if was purely ephemeral. As against this, similar treatment from his own kith and kin was timeless. Blood oozing feet might have hampered the steps but they could not have impeded the *qadama*

*ṣidqin* (advancement in excellence)<sup>(4)</sup> of the devoted 'abd. Ṭā'if's episode occurred in the 10th year of the Call while he left Makkah after complete three years – delayed reaction! Even Muir admits:

“There is something lofty in this journey of Muḥammad to Aṭ-Ṭā'if; a solitary man, despised and rejected by his own people, going boldly forth in the name of God, . . . and summoning an idolatrous city to repent and support his mission. It shed a strong light on the intensity of his belief in the divine origin of his calling”<sup>(5)</sup>.

The last argument is that as the Quraysh finally decided to get rid of him through dagger, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) fled at the dead of night to save his life. This is an inconsistent opinion on the part of Ibn Ishāq (whose *Sīrah* has been reproduced in Ibn Hishām). To such an 'Abd who throughout a period of twentythree years incessantly remained steadfast in trials, courageous in dangers, unfrightened in perils and unperturbed in anxieties such a conclusion by Ibn Ishāq seems unjustified and misleading.

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4. In *Sūrah* X, Verse 2 Allah says “Warn the people and give good tidings to those who believe that for them is advancement in excellence (*qadama ṣidqin*) with their *Rabb*”. It belongs to the last Makkan period.
  5. *Life of Mohammad* pp. 112-113.(Edinburg, 1912). A Muslim researcher should feel sorry while quoting non-Muslim writers in support of his argument. See fn . 21 below.



It is gospel truth that wherein *Sīrah* and *Ḥadīth* differ, preference will have to be given to *Ḥadīth* and wherein the Qur'an and *Ḥadīth* differ either the *naṣṣ* of al-Qur'an will be upheld or else *Ḥadīth*'s interpretation must conform to Qur'an's version. Let us examine what Qur'an says about this supposed conspiracy.

In *Sūrah al-Anfāl* Allah says:

وَأَذِیْمُكُوبُكُ الذِّیْنُ كَفَرُوا  
لِیَسْبُوتُوكُ أَوْ یَقْتُلُوكُ أَوْ یُخْرِجُوكُ وَیَمْكُرُونَ وَیَمْكُرُ اللَّهُ  
وَاللَّهُ خَبِیْرُ الْمَكْرِیْمِ ۝

“And when those who disbelieve plot against thee (O Muḥammad) that they might confine thee or kill thee or drive thee forth; and they devised the plans and Allah also planned and Allah is the best of the planners” (8:30).

From *Sūrah al-Anfāl* it is clear that the Qurayshite opposition leaders were trying to agree on a common plan, first preference being given to confinement ( **ثَبَّتَ** ), second to assassination ( **قَتَلَ** ) and third to expulsion ( **خَرَجَ** ). Here many points are worth considering:

1) First of all, the proposal of assassination occupies the middle place – neither the first nor the last. From the point of view of this present article it is of utmost significance, because feasibility of the consideration of the proposal of assassination lessens. From the *āyat al mubīna* it is also obvious that the matter was still confined to discussion, argument, debate. The leaders were still to arrive at a concerted action. The repetition of **وَيَمْكُرُونَ** further confirms that before they could come to a final *modus operandi* the *Khair al-Mākirīn* made known His plan<sup>(6)</sup>. And whose

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6. The timings of a particular Revelation rest with Allah alone.

plan could have been all-pervading than that of Allah?

2) In *Sūrah Ibrāhīm* it is said:

“They were indeed planning their plan and their plan is with Allah”<sup>(7)</sup>.

3) Whatever might be the plan or plans of the Makkans Allah not only controlled all of them but surely will also turn them ineffective and inoperative. *Sūrah Ibrāhīm* belongs to the last Makkan period.

If the two complimentary Verses of *Banī Isrā'īl* “*akhrijni mukhrajā ṣidqin*” and “*wa in kādū . . . illa qalīlan*” (Nos. 81 & 76) are read together the grand designs of Allah’s *ḥikmah* behind the motive force of *hijratu’n-nabī* and the ‘final destiny’ of the Makkans might be manifest to a receptive reader.

If the supplication: “And say: O my Rabb! Cause me to go out with a firm outgoing” was granted – and certainly it was (*inna rabbī qarībun mujībun*) – this exit/outgoing of the *Nabī* must have remained free from all hinderances (opposite of *ṣidqin*), such as ‘confining’, ‘killing’ expelling’.

Before we proceed further let us select a suitable translation of the other Verse:

(17:76) *وَإِنْ كَادُوا لَيَسْتَفِزُّوكَ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ لَيُخْرِجُونَكَ مِنْهَا وَإِذْ الْأَيْكُتُونَ خَلْفَكَ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا*

I reproduce below five translations (or translations of translations):

1. Hifzur Raḥmān Seōhārvi (*Qaṣaṣu’ l-Qur’ān* in Urdū, IV, 370, Karachi, 1985):

“It was nigh that they (the Makkans) but had scared thee from the land (Makkah) so that they might had turned thee out from there and in such an eventuality

7. Al-Qur’an, 14:46. *وَقَدْ مَكَرُوا مَكْرَهُمْ وَعِنْدَ اللَّهِ مَكْرُهُمْ*

their ruination (destruction) must have occurred in a very short time”.

2. Shāh ‘Abd al-Qādir (Taj Co., Karachi, n.d.):

“They were about to upset thee from that land to t&rn you out from there and then they would have stayed behind thee but for little” (p. 478).

3. *Tafsīr*, Ibn Kathīr (Urdu translation perhaps by Wahiduz Zaman, Nur Muhammad, Karachi, n.d.), vol. III, Part 15, p. 59:

“They were almost to uproot thine steps from that land so that turning you out from there. Then after thee they would not have stayed but for a little”.

4. Pickthall (Mentor, 11th print):

“And they indeed wished to scare thee from the land that they might drive thee forth from thence, and then they would have stayed (there) but a little after thee”.

5. Muhammad Ali (*Lāhorī*):

“And surely they purposed to unsettle thee from the land that they might expel thee from it and then they will not tarry after thee but a little”.

In the above Qur’anic Verse two eventualities are worth noting:

- i) proposed attempt at *ikhṛāj*; and
- ii) corresponding punishment in case of the success of the attempt.

I prefer the translation of Seōhārvī.

Now, what Qur’an is exactly conveying is that if the

Makkans had really succeeded even in scaring Muḥammad (A.S.T.) (and; thereby forcing his expulsion) then Allah would have certainly taught them a lesson for their wrongdoing within shortest possible time. Such have remained the ways (*sunnah*) of *shadīdu'l-'Iqāb* with the earlier generations who played mischief with their *anbiyā'/rusul: kaiyfa kāna 'aḡibatu'l-mufsidīn* (7:85, 102; 27:14)? The following Verse (No. 77) wherein such chastisement is declared as Allah's *sunnah* is amply clear on the issue.

In *sūrah Ibrāhīm* Allah decalres:

“And those who disbelieved said to their *rusul*: Verily, we will drive you out from our land unless you return to our religion. Then their *Rabb* inspired them, (saying): We shall verily destroy the wrong-doers” (14:13).

For ‘destruction’ here the word used is *halakah*, the same word for *labītha* by Seōhārvīn in his translation, for which the other four have used the phrase ‘stay behind’, which does not convey the real sense.

From the construction of the Verse in question (No. 76) it is clear that the Makkans though wished to scare Muḥammad (A.S.T.) but failed to do so; and when they even failed to scare him they obviously also failed to expel him. Thus without even being scared, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) will accomplish *Hijrah* on his own free will under Allah's command and directive. But what about Ibn Ishāq?

In the concluding portion of the Verse for proposed ‘scaring’ and ‘expelling’ Allah announced the possibility of punishment. Apart from *'aqā'id*, historically speaking, no punishment was ever inflicted on the Makkans – not even on the population of at-Ṭā'if. According to the wordings of the Verse itself punishment being *mashrūt* with the ‘scaring’ on the part of the Makkans, no *halakah* was forthcoming. On the historicity of the non-infliction of any

chastisement Ibn Kathīr is very emphatic. Quoting the Verse:

وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُعَذِّبَهُمْ وَأَنْتَ فِيهِمْ وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ مُعَذِّبَهُمْ وَهُمْ يَسْتَغْفِرُونَ

⑥ “But Allah would not punish them while thou is with them, nor will He punish them while they seek forgiveness”, (8:33 post-Badr revelation), he concludes that no ‘*adhāb*’ was inflicted on the Makkans. As regards their reward for forgiveness, we are coming to that.

When even ‘scaring’ is neither proved nor attempted, Ibn Ishāq’s insistence on the existence of ‘The Murder Plan’ – the highest crime – appears redundant. When Muḥammad (A.S.T.) himself seeking ‘*akhrījī*’ (O *Rabb!* Let my exit be . . .), his *Ikhrāj* from Makkah, no doubt, is taking place. This is the exact technical situation referred to in the Qur’an,

It was only within two years of *Hijrah* that in the battle of Badr Allah through

يُجِىءُ الْحَقَّ وَيُبْطِلُ الْبَاطِلَ

“caused Truth to triumph and bring vanity to nought” (8:8). And, as such, Badr is also known as *furqān*. Within next five years peace was concluded and by the next year:

وَرَأَيْتَ النَّاسَ يَدْخُلُونَ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ أَفْوَاجًا

(They entered in troops in the *dīn*)

As an humble participant in *sīrah* writing I have many a time felt that the real and practical back-bone of Makkan opposition was broken by Badr and it did require some span of time to overcome the *jāhili* ‘*aṣabīyah*. To me, therefore, Uḥud and *Aḥzāb* (battles of) appear as interludes and *Hudāibiyyah* as prelude between opposition and final submission to *Al-Ḥaqq* (commonly known as ‘The Fall of Makkah’) on the part of the Makkans.

Did not my Rasul pray: اللَّهُمَّ اهْدِ قَوْمِي نَاهِمًا لِيَعْلَمُونَ (ي) *allāhhumma ihdī qawmī fa innahum lā ya’lamūn (ī)?* “O

Allah! guide my folk because they do not know". To whom and when Allah *subḥānahū wa ta'ālā* vouchsafes His *hidāyah* rests with Him alone.

As regards Allah's promised forgiveness, out of a population running into thousands of Makkah of those days only about seventy opponents were killed in the battle of Badr. As regards *Uḥud* and *Aḥzāb* the death toll is almost negligible. Thus these thousands entered the *dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in troops — the promised forgiveness.

To me, therefore, it is clear that as the Makkans, unlike earlier generations, did not scare (*istafazza*) Muḥammad (A.S.T.) no *'adhāb* was ever inflicted on them — a fact historically also sound.

The whole scheme of Hijrah, its day, date, month and particular time were all decided by Allah; and Muḥammad (A.S.T.), as its central figure, was kept fully informed of the minutest details: it was 12th Rabi' I, 13th year of the Call, corresponding to Monday, May 31, 622 A.C. (1 a.h.) (8).

In these very books on *Sīrah* and history it is openly admitted that during the last stages of the Makkan stay Muḥammad (A.S.T.) used to say that the orders for him for Hijrah from Allah were still awaited. And who does not know that in the hope of being Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) co-*Muhājir* Abu Bakr was maintaining two camels for the journey! Abu Bakr had asked the permission of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) to emigrate but the latter had said: "Hasten not away, for it may be that Allah will give thee a companion<sup>(9)</sup>". How is then the conjectural decision of assassination compatible with the hard facts discussed above? That they were planning, who denies?

8. For latest calculations see i) the paper read by Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah at the 27th Congress of the Orientalists, Michigan University, 1967; and ii) his article The Concordance of the Hijrah and Christian eras for the life-time of the Prophet, JPHS, XVI, 1968, pp. 213-19.

9. Ibn Ishāq, p. 127.

On the basis of some Qur'anic Verses, revealed during the relevant period, I would try to authenticate the all round sublimity of Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) character and affirmation of his unflinching faith in Allah and in his own Mission and the negation of threat, intimidation and fear playing any role with him.

During the last three years of Makkan stay ten or eleven *Sūrah*s were revealed of which *al-An'ām*, *al-Hūd*, *Yūnus*, *Hijr*, *Mōminūn* and *Jinn* are worth mentioning:

Al-Jinn: قُلْ إِنِّي لَنْ يُجِيرَنِي مِنَ

اللَّهِ أَحَدٌ وَلَنْ أَجِدَ مِنْ دُونِهِ مُلْتَحَدًا.

"Say: Lo! none can protect me from Allah nor can I find any refuge beside Him" (72:22).

Again: وَمَنْ يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَإِنَّ

لَهُ نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدًا فِيهَا أَبَدًا

"And whoever disobeys Allah and His *Rasūl*, verily, for him is the Fire of hell, to abide therein for ever" (72: 23).

In *Yūnus* Allah says: وَيَبَشِّرِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَنَّ لَهُمْ

قَدْ مَصَدَّقَ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ قَالِ الْكَافِرُونَ إِنَّ هَذَا لَشَرٌّ مُبِينٌ

"And give the good tidings to those who believe that for them is advancement in excellence<sup>(10)</sup> with their Rabb. The disbelievers say: Lo! this is a mere enchanter" (10:2).

In *Yūnus* Allah says:

فَقَدْ رَأَى الَّذِينَ لَا يُرْجُونَ لِقَاءَنَا فِي طُغْيَانِهِمْ يَعْمَهُونَ

"But We suffer those who look not for the meeting with Us to wander blindly in their inordinacy" (10:11).

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10. For the translation of *qadama ṣidqin* into 'advancement in excellence' see *Al-Mufradāt fī Ḡharīb al-Qur'ān* by Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, under *qadama* (Misr, Mustafa al-Babī, 1961) p. 397.

Allah again says in *Hūd*:

فَاسْتَقِمْ كَمَا أُمِرْتَ وَمَنْ تَابَ مَعَكَ

“Follow then (the straight path) as thou art commanded, and those who turn (unto Allah) with thee” (11:112).

In *al-Hijr* Allah says: فَاصْدَعْ بِمَا تُؤْمَرُ

أَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ۚ إِنَّا كَافٍ بِكَ الْمُشْكِرِينَ ۚ

“So proclaim that which thou art commanded and withdraw from the idolators; And Lo! We are sufficient for thee against the scoffers” (15:94-5).

In *Sūrah al-An‘ām* Allah says:

فَقَدْ كَذَّبُوا بِالْحَقِّ لَمَّا جَاءَهُمْ فَسَوْفَ يَأْتِيهِمْ أَنْبَاءُ مَا كَانُوا يَسْتَهْزِئُونَ ۚ

“So they rejected the Truth when it came unto them but (soon) will come to them the news of which they scoffed” (6:5).

Again, in *Sūrah al-An‘ām* Allah says:

قُلْ يُقَوْمُوا عَمَلَكُمْ أَعْلَى

مَكَانَتِكُمْ إِنِّي عَامِلٌ ۚ فَسَوْفَ تَعْلَمُونَ مَنْ تَكُونُ لَهُ

عَاقِبَةُ الدَّارِ إِنَّهُ لَا يُفْلِحُ الظَّالِمُونَ ۚ

“Say: O my people! Act according to your power. Lo! I am too acting. So you will soon come to know for which of us will be the happy sequel. Lo! the inequitous will not be successful” (6:136).

*Sūrah al-Mōminūn* starts with: قَدْ أَفْلَحَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ ۝

“Successful indeed are the believers” (23:1).

Later on in Verse 95 Allah says:



“And Lo! Indeed We are able to show thee what We promise them” (23:95)<sup>(11)</sup>:  
 وَإِنَّا عَلَىٰ أَنْ نُرِيكَ مَا نَعِدُهُمْ لَقَدِيرُونَ ﴿١١﴾

Unity of Allah, truthfulness of the Message, full enforcement of the *Dīn* (in near future), success of the Truth in the struggle between *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*; ineffectiveness and psycholopsy of the Makkan mischief mongers and righteous efforts of the *muslim/mōmin* to seek Allah's pleasure (*ṛiḍā*.) and clear indication of the ultimate 'forsaking' of Makkah — this is the analysis of the Qur'anic verses narrated above to show impregnable firmness, marvellous self-possession and indomitable fortitude of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), his unshakable faith in the Cause and his deep rooted conviction in his final triumph.

The occurrence of *Isrā'*<sup>(12)</sup> (the nocturnal journey of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) happened either within one year or few months prior to Hijrah<sup>(13)</sup>. According to Balādhurī<sup>(14)</sup> it took one year for complete migration.

*Muḥaddithūn* and *sīrah* writers in between *Isrā'/Mi'rāj* and Hijrah do not relate any significant historical event. Bukhārī has mentioned the events of *Mi'rāj* and Hijrah one after the other without the interlocation of any other event. It means that the third Pledge of 'Aqabah must have taken place earlier than *Isrā'/Mi'rāj*. After the 3rd Pledge of 'Aqabah and before Hijrah (of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) it took one full year for the Rasūl (A.S.T.) to send the Muhājirīn in batches, slowly and gradually, to Yathrib.

To the author of this article there appears to be a close

11. i.e. The power of the persecutors will be broken, vide *Iṣqān*, Suyūṭī, (Mustafa al-Baḥī 1951, 2 vols.).

12. Al-Qur'an, 17:1; Bukhārī, 63:41 (*Ṣaḥīḥ*).

13. Bukhārī places it adjacent to the 3rd pledge of 'Aqabah and Hijrah.

14. *Ansāb al-aṣḥrāf*, I, 257.

correlation between *Isrā'/Mi'rāj* and Hijrah. It would not be novel to assert that *Isrā'/Mi'rāj* was 'the Preamble' to Hijrah — both full of majesty and grandeur. Hijrah is 'the Prelude' to the most stupendous task ever undertaken by any mortal in human annals. An 'abd who has totally surrendered his will and purpose to the Will and Command of his *Rabb* is going forth to establish power and authority (*sulṭānan naṣīran*) through gathering the people in space and time and creating a social and political order with *wahī* as his sole guide.

When in post-Hijrah period Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was going to perform practical earthly 'miracles' in social and governmental matters, there should be no wonder that as a prelude to this, *Al-Qadīr*, *Al-Qādir* would have shown, in complete wakefulness, to the *jasad* 'unṣurī of His 'Abd the cosmological *āyāt*, through the journey, first to Jerusalem and then onwards to celestial bodies.

For a detailed discussion dealing with *Isrā' (mina'l masjida 'l ḥarāmi il'al masjidi 'l-Aqṣā)* and *Mi'rāj (fa kāna qāba qawsayni aw adnā; 'inda sidrati 'l-muntahā; laqad ra' min āyāti Rabbihi'l-Kubrā)* Ibn Kathīr (*tafsīr*) Qurṭubī (*K'lsti'āb*). Ibn Ḥajar (*fathu l-bārī*) and Qadī 'Ayād (*Shifā'*) can be seen.

From the standards of the critics of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and of those who regard Hijrah an act under compulsion this nocturnal journey of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) should have been arranged<sup>(15)</sup> after the conquest of Makkah (Hijrah 8) because *isrā'* is the *mi'rāj* of the exalted stature of man, the *Muntahā* (utmost sublimity) of *nabuwah*, proof of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being sire of all *rusul*, proclamation of Islam's final triumph during Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) own life time, victory of spirit over matter, exploration of new horizons as human destiny and the declaration of the vanishing of the Falsehood. From their standards that would have been proper time for 'pretentions'. But does anybody realize

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15. اعوذ بالله من شرور النفسى

what was the command from Allah to Muhammad (A.S.T.) at the time of the Conquest of Makkah?

(16) *لَسِيْمٌ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّكَ وَاسْتَغْفِرُوكَ*

"Then hymn the praises of thy *Rabb* and seek forgiveness of Him".

That Hijrah was pre-planned and a scheme conceived three years ahead of the so-called 'conspiracy to murder' is clearly borne out by the famous three Pledges of 'Aqabah offered in the 10th, 11th and 12th years of the Call on the hands of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) by the leaders of Aus and Khazraj tribes of Yathrib, better known as Anṣars of Madinah. The Pledges *inter alia* maintained that the Ansar

1. Testify that there was no *ilāh* except Allah and that Muhammad (A.S.T.) was His *Rasūl*;
2. Now onwards obey and submit to Allah and to His *Rasūl* alone;
3. Will not dispute the laws of authority;
4. Will protect Muḥammad (A.S.T.) with which they protect themselves and their family;
5. Will maintain *ṣalāt* and pay *zakāt*<sup>(17)</sup>; and
6. Instead of any worldly gains in return, for their submission and sacrifice, should expect *Nusrah* and *Jazā'* from Allah alone<sup>(18)</sup>

During one of the pledges one Anṣar even questioned Muḥammad (A.S.T.) that after gaining power over Makkans<sup>(19)</sup> would he not quit the Ansars? The possibility

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16. Al-Qur'an, 110:1 "When Allah's help and victory comes, . . . . Celebrate the praise of thy *Rabb* and solicit His forgiveness".

17. Though made compulsory only after the Battle of Badr in a.h. 2.

18. For further details see *ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Ibn Sa'd Juz, III, *qism* II, pp. 138-42 (ed. Horowitz, Leiden, 1904) and *iṣṭābah* by Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī, Juz I, pp. 34-66, (ed. M. Wajih, Sprenger, etc., Calcutta, 1856).

19. Talking ten years in advance of an unknown possibility!

of gaining power in Yathrib pre-supposes the purposeful withdrawal from Makkah.

These Pledges (*bai'at*) are unique and historic. They contemplate the basis of the future Yathrib society and the dominion of the Muslims on the principles of the sovereignty of Allah, surrender to the Will of Allah, obedience to Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) authority, *ṣalāt* and *zakāt* as the means of the purification and economic emancipation of society and joint defence of the city. These *bai'at* contain the nucleus of the future Madinah Dominion. The *Kitābu'r-Rasūl* or *Ṣaḥīfatu'r-Rasūl*, which Muḥammad (A.S.T.) dictated for the Madinah population within few months of his arrival in the city, if carefully examined, will reveal that it was an elaboration of and improvement over the stipulations he had already imposed two to three years earlier in a different city and under different circumstances<sup>(20)</sup>.

Throughout the three Pledges of 'Aqabah, Muḥammad (A.S.T.), the master-mind, had his firm grip over the situation — neither in haste, nor dejected and much less unsuccessful. An eminent but by no means sympathetic writer on Muhammad (A.S.T.) admits:

"Muḥammad thus holding his people at bay waiting in the still expectation of victory; to outward experience defenceless and with his little band as it were in the lion's mouth, yet trusting in His Almighty power whose Messenger he believed himself to be, resolute and unmoved, presents a spectacle of sublimity. . ." <sup>(21)</sup>.

Let us now examine the Qur'anic meaning and implica-

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20. For full discussion see present author's book '*Kitābu'r-Rasūl*' (Karachi University, 1984).

21. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

It is a strange phenomenon that in whose heart there is sickness (Qur'an; 2:10) tries to find excuses in Qur'anic Verses but readily accepts the same argument when upheld by an orientalist.

tion of Hijrah. It has nothing to do with the word 'Flight' nor it is equivalent to ordinary migration, emigration or exodus.

If such was the case Muḥammad (A.S.T.) could have gone to Abyssinia because its king Najāshī had embraced the Faith<sup>(22)</sup>. Or else he could have taken refuge with some of the neighbouring Makkan tribes, some of whom were on friendly terms with him while one or two have already embraced Islam. Tufail b. 'Amr, leader of the neighbouring tribe of al-Dūsī was already a convert<sup>(23)</sup>. Bāni 'Āmir b. Sa'sa, though refused entrance to Muḥammad (A.S.T.), nevertheless, we are here concerned with the efforts of Muḥammad (A.S.T.)<sup>(24)</sup>. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī (of the clan of Nawfal) had accorded protection to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) on his return journey from Aṭ-Ta'if<sup>(25)</sup>. Generally it is presumed that it was only after the three Pledges of 'Aqabah that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) thought of Hijrah, but this is not a fact. Much prior to the First Pledge of 'Aqabah (10th year of the Call) Muḥammad (A.S.T.) had seen in a dream that *dāru'l-hijrat* was a healthy resort. Bukhārī's wordings are:

فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم للمسلمين إني أريت دار هجرتكم  
ذات نخل بين لابتين وهما الحزتان.

"I have been shown the place of your Hijrat: I saw a (well watered land) rich in date palms, between two tracks of black stones" (26)

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) thought of Yaman or Hajar, but it turned out to be Yathrib. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) had narrated

22. *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, al-Wāḥidī, p. 26 (Misr, 1315/1899).

23. Ibn Hishām, *sīrah*, II, 21.

24. Ṭabarī, p. 1205, (Leiden).

25. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 1203.

26. Bukhārī, *Bāb 'Hijratu'n-nabī*. Hajar the capital of which was al-Aḥsā', lies between al-Bahrayn and al-Yamāmah:

this dream on the occasion when Abu Bakr had absolved Ibnu 'd-Daghinah of the protection he had offered to Abu Bakr — an incident many months earlier than the First Pledge.

Our stand/contention is that whether Muḥammad (A.S.T.), finally undertakes Hijrah to Abyssinia, Banū Ṣa'sā', Aṭ-Ṭā'if, al-Dūsī, Yaman, Ḥajar or Yathrib, it was for his Allāh to decide. After realizing the obstinacy of the Makkan opposition leaders he must continue creating favourable conditions elsewhere. As regards *fath* and *nusrah* his Allāh has already not only promised but assured.

From the Arabic root *hajara* Hijrah is the opposite of *waṣl* (union) and its philological meaning is separation, disengagement and to cut off relations either physically or mentally<sup>(27)</sup>. In the Qur'anic *āyat*:

وَاصْبِرْ عَلَىٰ مَا يَقُولُونَ وَاهْجُرْهُمْ هَجْرًا جَمِيلًا

“And bear patiently what they say and forsake them with a graceful withdrawal” (73:10) there is recommendation both of mental and physical separation based on goodness. It is regarded on all hands that this *Sūrah al-Muzammil* is one of the earliest Makkan revelation. Irrespective of ‘plot to murder’ and ‘flight’, Hijrah is being foretold here as predestied occurrence. Hijrah was undertaken with devotion and faith for the sake of Allāh alone.

As per Allāh's handiwork a particular scheme with a set purpose is being pursued at by the Rasūl (A.S.T.) and being carried out by the Faithful under his well-planned command and supervision. Our Muslim historians, nevertheless, feel that while describing the Hijrah performed by the Faithful if they depict them in a pitiable condition these historians by so doing would earn sympathy from the readers. But if this ‘melodrama of pity’ is in contradiction to the Qur'anic verdict and contrary to the explanation given

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27. *Jamhara al-lughah* by Ibn Durayd, II, 87 (Hyderabad, 1345 H.).

by the *Muhājirūn* themselves I leave to the readers to uphold the interpretation of their choice.

In *Sūrah al-Sabā'* Allah says:

قَالَ الَّذِينَ اسْتَكْبَرُوا لِلَّذِينَ اسْتَضَعِفُوا أَتَعْنُ صَدْدُكُمْ عَنِ الْهُدَىٰ بَعْدَ إِجَاءِكُمْ

“And those who were proud (*istakbarū*) say unto those who were deemed weak (*ustud'ifū*): Did we drive you away from the guidance after it had come unto you?” (34:32).

Here for the Makkan Kuffār active voice '*istakbarū*' has been employed while for the *Mōminūn/Muslimūn* the passive voice '*ustud'ifū*' has been used. According to Imām Rāzī *tababbur* on the part of the Makkans was their own demeanour while the passive voice '*ustud'ifū*' indicates that it were the Makkans who regarded the *Mōminīn* as *da'if* but neither Allah nor they regarded themselves as weak<sup>(28)</sup>. It follows that their supposed weakness should have played no part in their supposed 'flight'. For their intensity of feeling and stubbornness of character behold their following declaration:

كُنَّا هَاجِرًا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَجَدَ اللَّهُ فُوجِبَ اجْرَاءُ عَلَى اللَّهِ

“We (the Companions) performed Hijrah along with the Rasūl of Allah (Allah's Blessings on and our obedience to him) for the sake of Allah (alone) and because of that we were entitled for reward from Allah”<sup>(29)</sup>.

One has to forsake his hearth and home, property and belongings<sup>(30)</sup> and has to dissociate to another area/place for

28. *Tafsīr Kabīr* (Istanbul, 1308 a.h.), *sūrah 'Arāf*, *ayat* 75 “The chieftains of his people who were proud said to those whom they deemed weak. . . .” The two Verses being exact, and, '*Arāf*' being earlier *sūrah*, Rāzī discussed the point there.

29. Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *bāb hijratu'n-nabī ila madīnah*.

30. When in winter the Siberian water fowls migrate to Indian Bharatpur they do not take their food along with them: Al-Qur'an says:

“And how many a living creature carries not its sustenance!”

(29:60)

better prospects and not for worldly gains. The Verse

أَنْ تَبْتَغِيَ نَفَقًا فِي الْأَرْضِ

“ . . . . then seek new horizons in the earth . . . .” (6:35) recommends this very spirit.

In *al-'Ankabūt* Allah says:

يُعِبَادِيَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنَّ أَرْضِي وَاسِعَةً فَإِيَّايَ فَاعْبُدُونِ

“O My slaves who believe, surely My earth is vast, to serve Me only” (29:56).

Again in *Sūrah al-Nisā'* it is said:

قَالُوا أَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضُ اللَّهِ وَاسِعَةً فَتُهَاجِرُوا فِيهَا.

“And they (the angels) say: Was not Allah's earth spacious enough so that you could have undertaken *Hijrah* to it?” (4:95).

It is also clear from these Verses that the real object with Allah is not love of homeland and comfort but to seek His pleasure.

His ten years' bitter but useful experience had convinced Muḥammad (A.S.T.) that Makkans were adamant. In comparison with the other tribes of Arabia the Makkans were obstinate and obdurate. With Ka'ba as bonanza in their hands they turned deaf ear to the logic and reason of one who was otherwise *ṣādiq* and *amīn* to them. Moreover, for societal changes they believed in miracles (*Mu'jazah*) but not in evolutionary process. This Evil Personified must then be over-powered from 'without' being incurable through reform 'within'.

Thus during Makkan period Muḥammad (A.S.T.), as his immediate objective, must figure out a Short Term Plan,

In *Sūrah al-'Ankabūt* Allah says:



“Those who strive hard for Us We shall certainly guide them in Our ways and Allah verily is with the doers of good” (29:69).

This is a very early Makkan *Sūrah* and has nothing to do with *qitāl*, forced upon Madinah Dominions in years to come. This Verse enjoins upon the Faithful to fight out the Evil ‘within’ through the purification of body, soul, heart, spirit. And once they have conquered themselves, they would be ready to face the Evil ‘without’. When these invincible pious souls were forthcoming, though numerically insignificant, he left Makkah for good.

Earlier we have ourselves posed a question viz: what was his immediate objective during Makkan stay? Let us examine the answer for the correct appreciation of the indispensable scheme of Hijrah, in more detail.

The ultimate object with *mōminīn/muslimīn* is the *sa’ādatu’l-ukhrāwīyah*, which can only be achieved through *sa’ādu’l-dunyawīyah*, which, in turn, will have to be achieved collectively through power, authority and governance. Thus *sulṭān*, *ma’mūrah*, *‘umrān* turn *sine qua non* for such an objective. Hence for the ultimate objective a *ṣoālīḥ* dominion is needed, for which time and space are required. For a *ṣoālīḥ* state a *ṣoālīḥ* society is needed and for a *ṣoālīḥ* society *ṣoālīḥ* individuals are required. Thus the foremost objective must remain the availability of *ṣoālīḥ* individuals. When once these individuals are purified (*wa uzakkī him*), they subdue their evil ‘within’ and, now, they are ready to face the evil ‘without’. The question will be of quality and not that of quantity.

The human beings are provided by the Creator but their conversion to *ṣalāḥ* (righteousness) is the work entrusted to *anbiyā’*. Once these *nufūsu’ ṣ-ṣoālīḥ* are forthcoming the next stage of the righteous society and state sets in.

During his thirteen years' Makkan stay the *nabī/rasūl* (A.S.T.) through untiring and ceaseless efforts completely succeeded in creating this *ṣoālīh* Band of Faithful simultaneously both at Makkah and at Yathrib (in the 10th, 11th and 12th years of the Call). This was the 'Mighty Achievement' (*al-Fawzu l-'Aẓīm*) of the *Rasūl* (A.S.T.).

Hence no 'failure' at all.

Through the Pledges of 'Aqabah and the momentous Hijrah the *nabī/rasūl* set the next stage in motion through space and time for a righteous society and a righteous dominion, as commanded by Allah:

الَّذِينَ إِنْ نَكُنْهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ وَآمَنُوا  
بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ ۗ وَلِلَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ ۝ (22:41).

According to Qur'anic terminology *سِلْمٌ* (*silm*), from which the word *islām* is derived, stands for total and unqualified surrender of the purpose of life of an 'abd to the Will and Command of Allah. His, worship and his sacrifice, his life and his death are for Allah, *Rabbu'l-'ālamīn*. Every *nabī/rasūl* had to pronounce and acknowledge the same. As such, the intentions, deeds, decisions and pronouncements of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) were subservient to the Will and Command of Allah. From such an 'ubūdīyah develops greatness of character, unfoldment of vision, abundance of wisdom, firmness in trials and cognizance of world affairs. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) thus developed a multi-dimensional personality. With the *nusrah* and the *sultān* from Allah, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was capable enough to mould the circumstances in his own favour. Ultimately victory and success were at his feet and oppression and tyranny submitted to his authority in the end.

Let us now dispassionately examine Ibn Ishāq's stipulation (as reproduced in the *sīrah* of Ibn Hishām) of 'conspiracy to murder' as the agreed plan, although in the light

of the arguments and evidence so far provided and conclusions arrived at it should be overlooked

Ibn Ishāq's contention is that out of the three proposals put forward at *dāru'l-nadwah* the Makkan opposition leaders finally agreed to the plan of murder and decided to accomplish the heinous crime at the dead of night. Ibn Ishāq says that they agreed on *qatl*, "strike a blow at him and kill him"; and Muḥammad (A.S.T.), coming to know of the plan took 'to flight' at the dead of night. Who stopped the would-be assassins to pierce their daggers in Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) body because Ibn Ishāq was aware of the dialogue which transpired at that crucial moment among them:

فيقولون: والله إن هذا لمحمد نائم عليه برده

"And they whispered: By God, it is Muḥammad (A.S.T.) sleeping in his mantle"<sup>(31)</sup>. Ibn Ishāq himself here confirms that the face of the person asleep was also fully covered.

Ibn Ishāq thus entangled himself to a point of no return. Hence, now onwards, to free himself from fantasy, takes refuge in miracles.

If because of the fear for his life Muḥammad (A.S.T.) fled away at the dead of night, what was his position as regards:

- a) his strength of character;
- b) his firm faith in his Protector;
- c) the truthfulness of his Mission;
- d) the ever-binding promise of his *fath* and *nusrah*;
- e) arranging 'Aqabah Pledges; and
- f) his clear intentions for forming society and dominions?

By no stretch of imagination Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was either fearful or nervous in the least because none ever

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31. Ibn Ishāq, pp. 482-83 (Saqqā etc.).

knew than he alone that this would not benefit him as he had already surrendered his purpose to the Will and Command of his *Rabb* and the end of affairs rested not with the would-be assassins but with the Almighty alone.

Ibn Ishāq did not realize the implications of his story

Was not the whole scheme of Hijrah crumbling down with the insertion of this story? We are aware of the historical sequence of the three years of events but for Ibn Ishāq they must be placed in the cold storage for the time being.

Did Ibn Ishāq expect from us to believe that after sending all the *muhājirīn* to Yathrib Muḥammad (A.S.T.) tarried in Makkah for full one year to confront the 'murder attempt'? If according to Ibn Ishāq Muḥammad (A.S.T.) knew that the conspiracy to kill him was not going to succeed, then why this commotion on the part of this *sīrah* writer? While himself describing the expected orders from Allah, Ibn Ishāq relates the position of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in these words:

يَنْتَظِرُ أَنْ يُؤْذَنَ لَهُ فِي الْهَجْرَةِ

(32):

And then he himself informs us about Allah's orders thus:

وَأُذِنَ لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى لِنَبِيِّهِ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْهَجْرَةِ

(33):

Of the two luminous stars of the firmament of the *Dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) one (Abu Bakr) was detained to accompany and the other ('Ali) to return the deposits.

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32. P. 480 "He waited for the permission to him for the Hijrah".

33. P. 484, "And Allah the Exalted gave permission to His *nabī* in this way for the Hijrah".

“ . . . . The Prophet returned to his house and told ‘Ali that he was about to leave for Yathrib, bidding him stay behind in Mecca until he had given back to their owners all the goods which had been deposited in their house for safe keeping. The Prophet had never ceased to be known as *al-Amin*. .”<sup>(34)</sup>

Against whom the final blow of insertion hits?

It is a negation of **يَسِدُهُ مَكْرُوتٌ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ**

It is a contempt of **وَلَا خَيْرَ خَيْرٍ لَكَ مِنَ الْأُولَى**

It is a denial of **وَاللَّهُ خَيْرُ الْمَاكِرِينَ**

Ibn Ishāq totally contradicts himself when on the one hand he says that a day earlier than the actual dissociation (*Hijrah*) Muḥammad (A.S.T.) went to Abu Bakr at noon to communicate to him Allah’s permission:<sup>(35)</sup>

**فَقَالَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى قَدْ أَيْذَنَ لِي فِي الْخُرُوجِ وَالْهَجْرَةِ** and then introduces the murder plan which was to commence twelve hours later at the dead of night.

It appears that the plan acceptable to the opponents was that of expulsion (*yukhrijūka*). In *Sūrah Banī Isrā’īl*, Allah says:

“And surely they wished to scare thee from the land so that ;

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34. Martin Lings, *Muhammad* (A.S.T.), (etc.), p. 117.

35. Ibn Ishāq, P. 485: “And (the Rasūl) said: Allah did permit me to dissociate and to undertake Hijrah”.

they might expel thee from there" (17:76). *Bānī Isrā'īl* being a Makkan *Sūrah*, Ibn Kathīr in his *tafsīr*, after rejecting several other possibilities of the reason behind the revelation, maintains that this *āyat* refers (*rajī'*) to "that plot of the *Kuffār* in which they thought to expel him from Makkah"<sup>(36)</sup>. Al-Qur'an has thus categorically rejected 'conspiracy to murder' as the finally agreed upon plan.

When after the very first *waḥī* (*Iqra'*) Khadījah (or else Abu Bakr) took Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to her octogenarian cousin Waraqah bin Nawfal this *Shaykhun Kabīrun* is reported to have said:<sup>(37)</sup> *يا ليتني حيّا اذ يخرجك قومك* Would God, if I were to survive when thine people would try to expel thee)<sup>(38)</sup>. That having knowledge in the ancient Scriptures he came to this conclusion there appears nothing strange.

Even after thirteen years of opposition the Makkans still had faith in the *amānat* and *ṣadāqat* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). As such, their precious deposits under his safe custody were now to be handed back. If the ways and means of Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) actual departure were to be kept a secret, because this was to work as his *sunnah/uswa* for future guidance, the deposits will have to be returned only after he had gone. And who was to return them? This job he entrusted to 'Ali. Let us listen as to what Ibn Ishāq has to say in appreciation of our contention: " 'Ali detained to return the entrusted deposits to the Makkans".

36. *Tafsīr*, Ibn Kathīr, vol. III, p. 53, (1948, al-Mulkiyah press).

37. Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ*, *bāb badu'l-waḥī*.

38. The Qarawīyūn MS of Ibn Ishāq says that it was Abu Bakr who took Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to Waraqah.

Guillaume while translating the wordings *amānat* and *ṣadāqat* has the audacity to add the qualifying adjective 'notorious', although in the Arabic text no such adjective is traceable. Ṭibāwī in his devastating criticism has thoroughly exposed such distortions in the translator's questionable attempts<sup>(39)</sup>.

Before leaving for Yathrib Muḥammad (A.S.T.) instructed 'Ali to meet him at Qubā — safe and sound.

It was an established Arab custom that fulfilment of obligations, conclusion of agreements and pronouncement of decisions were undertaken either by the leader of the parties concerned, or else, on his behalf by the nearest adult male relative. On this very basis Muḥammad (A.S.T.) entrusted to 'Ali, his first cousin and like his adopted son, three jobs. One example we have already discussed. The other job was the drawing up of the clauses of the Truce of Ḥudai-bīyah concluded in 7 a.h. The third was to proclaim immunity on the basis of the requirements of the currently revealed *sūrah* of *al-Barā'at* (The Immunity) on the occasion of the first *Ḥajj* in Islam in 9 a.h., in which Abu Bakr was the *amīr*. Because of repeated violations on the part of non-believers of the obligations undertaken, Allah wanted to absolve the Muslims too from the same. With Abu Bakr as *amīru'l-ḥajj* it was obvious that instead of going himself, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was to despatch his nearest male relative. Hence 'Ali: "None shall be a transmitter from me but a man of the people of my house". After narrating this principle Imām Rāzī (Fakhrud-dīn) in his *tafsīr* of *sūrah al-Barā'at* has reproduced the reaction of the disbelievers against the immunity

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39. a) Guillaume (Ibn Hishām's translation), p. 227 (Oxford 1955).  
 b) A.L. Ṭibāwī's Review article on Guillaume's translation, published in *Islamic Quarterly*, London, vol. VIII, No. 3, October, 1956, pp. 196-214.

declaration by 'Ali in the following words:

"O 'Ali! Deliver this message to *thine cousin* (*Ibn 'ammika*) that we have thrown the agreement between him and us except smiting with spears and striking with swords"(40).

The form of address '*thine cousin*' (italics by the author) unmistakably confirms the prevalent custom of deputization.

Ibn Ishāq's story of 'murder plot' was picked up by Ṭabarī and from Ṭabarī by Indian Muslim historians<sup>(41)</sup>. Ibn Ishāq being one of the earliest *sīrah* writers and otherwise a valuable source, I feel myself incompetent to sit in judgement on his *sīrah* writings.

Discussing (Muḥammad) Ibn Ishāq (b. Yasār) in detail (about four pages) *Dhahabī* has summarized all the opinions of all the earliest critics of him<sup>(42)</sup>.

These adverse remarks of about a dozen original authorities had to be taken into account.

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40. *Al-tafsīr al-kabīr*, also known as *mafāṭīḥ al-ghayb* (Matba' al-'Amirah, Ahmad Khulusi, Istanbul, 1308 a.h.), IV, 584, while discussing the first two *āyāt* of *Sūrah Taubah*; also cf. *tafsīr*, Ibn *Kathīr*, under introductory remarks on *Sūrah al-Barā'at* vol. II, wherein he says that 'Ali was sent for the necessary proclamation because of being 'close relationship'.

41. Amir Ali (*The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1949), p. 47, has wrongly interpreted the relevant Verse of *Sūrah al-Anfāl* and has erroneously concluded on that basis that the murder plan was finalized.

42. *Mizānu'l-'itidāl'* (Misr, Muhammad Isma'il, 1325, in 3 vols) pp. 21-22, vol. III.

Yāqūt al-Rūmī in his *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* on the authority of three *ruwwāt* Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, al-Shādh Kūnī and Aḥmad b. Yūnus, has stated that Muḥammad b. Ishāq was inclined towards "partisanism", VI, 400 (Ed. Margoliouth, Gibb Memorial, Leiden, 1913). The original name of the book is *irshād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb*.



Bukhārī in his *bāb hijratu'n-nabī* has not said a word about this story although the description is spread over several pages<sup>(43)</sup>, and moreover, in his *tafsīr* he has not attempted any commentary on the relevant Qur'anic Verse (*yuthbitūka, yaqtulūka, yukhrijūka*)<sup>(44)</sup>. As regards Qur'an we have checked, no independent reference to murder plan is traceable.

The insertion on the part of Ibn Ishāq is neither convincing nor consistent.

Positively speaking, the earlier attempt by the Rasūl (A.S.T.) (journey to Tā'if) for mental and physical dissociation from the Quraysh, the three Pledges of 'Aqabah, the systematic Hijrat of the Companions spread over a period of complete one year, the beginnings of a *ṣoālīḥ afrād* in Yathrib, the maintenance of two camels by Abu Bakr for the expected journey, the intimation by the Rasūl (A.S.T.) to Abu Bakr that the orders from Allah for Hijrah are still awaited and the responsibility of Allah's Rasūl (A.S.T.) as *amīn* to hand over the deposited trusts — all facts counted by Ibn Ishāq himself — are clear negation of his leaving Makkah because of the threat to his life.

Negatively speaking, clear refutation by al-Qur'an of 'the plot to murder' and meaningful silence of Bukhārī on Ibn Ishāq's insertion are positive inferences to totally disagree with Ibn Ishāq.

The problem is not to discard or uphold the insertion but the uncalled for version should be seen in the light of divinely ordained momentous scheme of Hijrah. As such, the story turns out to be a sad commentary on the background, causes, implications and results of the Hijrah — a

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43. *Ṣaḥīḥ, bāb hijratu'n-nabī*, I. pp. 551-58 (Meeruth, al-Hashmi press, n.d.).

44. *Kitāb al-Tafsīr, Sūrah, al-Anfāl*, II, p. 669 (Ṣaḥīḥ)

*nabī* (one informed through *wahī*) working as *rasūl* (first acting upon and then transmitting the Message) towards a definite immediate objective, himself initiating the departure about four years in advance (through 'Aqabah Pledges), is suddenly being charged by his biographer, without rhyme and reason and out of context, of running away under threat of murder. Nothing could be more damaging to my *nabī/rasūl* (A.S.T.).

If we attempt to prove, as some historians have tried, that the Hijrat took place not in the month of *Rabī' I* but in *Ṣafar*, the preceding month, and, then, we further opine that *Ṣafar* was a *ḥarām* month (sacred, inviolable), even then the murder plan does not fit in the face of incontrovertable evidence. If Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was 'external foe' and if it was a *ḥarām* month, then how the Quraysh did dare to violate the sanctity of the *ḥarām* month themselves? Furthermore, the supposed connivance to pierce the daggers together would be sufficient enough to explode the theory of the *ḥarām* month. Moreover, according to Ibn Kathīr<sup>(45)</sup> the period of *ḥurmat* was not the month of *Ṣafar* but the fifty days beginning with the 10th of *Dhū al-Hijjah* and coming to an end with the close of Muḥarram.

No useful purpose can therefore, be served by placing the departure of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and Abu Bakr in the month of *Ṣafar*. Guillaume in his Introduction to Ibn Hishām's translation remarks that the events are chronologically well arranged<sup>(46)</sup>.

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45. *Tafsīr*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, introductory remarks on *al-Barā'at*.

46. *Op. cit.*, pp. XVIII.

Like any other polity the *dīn* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being a definite ideological system and a well defined Code of Life *does require* time, space and power for its enforcement, establishment and accomplishment. Makkah was but to be abandoned. The three Pledges of 'Aqabah had paved the way for the immediate objective. Details we have already discussed elsewhere. Hence *Hijrah* the pre-destined landmark for *ṣoālih* society and *ṣoālih* dominion.

Hijrah has a definite philosophy and a working of its own. Firstly, it is undertaken to seek the pleasure of Allah and His Rasūl (A.S.T.)<sup>(47)</sup>. Secondly, the Muslim *Ummah* in future under religious or other reasons might have to resort to Hijrat.

There is no doubt that the time of departure was kept secret and during the journey certain precautions were also taken. This strategy has nothing to do either with the so-called 'murder conspiracy' or the so-called 'flight-attempt'. The era of miracles being over, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) must exit within the limits of a human being. There will be no more parting of the Red Sea. Since times immemorial peoples, tribes, races, nations have had forsaken their hearths and homes. This natural phenomenon of human urgency continues even today. Such being the case and Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being *ra'ūf* (compassionate) and *raḥīm* (merciful) to his Followers and full of concern (*ḥarīṣ*) for them and also an excellent exemplar (*uswatun hasanatun*) in all walks of life, *I do require* his *uswa* and *sunnah* in this respect too. Muslims in particular and the humanity in general must be ever thankful to Muḥammad (A.S.T.). Through a chartered plane he did not fly leaving his people in unsafety.

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47. "Whoso undertakes Hijrah for the sake of Allah will find much resting place and abundance in the earth, and whoso forsakes his home undertaking Hijrah for Allah and His Rasūl, and death overtakes him, his reward is then incumbent on Allah" (4:99).

First of all, through the Pledges of 'Aqabah he turned Yathrib safe and secure. Simultaneously, from a distant city he started the nucleus of a righteous faithfuls and a clean social order in Yathrib, among the Aws and Khazraj converts. Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) *nuqabā'*, both from among the Quraysh and Yathribits, were doing the spadework as instructed. He then, gradually and slowly – but cautiously – allowed the *Muhājirin* to leave in batches towards Yathrib. This systematic, well-planned and orderly Hijrah took one complete year.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was the last to leave:

لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ  
عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُمْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ  
(9:129). رَحِيمٌ

In our article on Zaynab bint Jaḥsh we have maintained that the story of Ibn Sa'd (based on Wāqidī) should stand rejected as a whole and any attempt at justification of any part thereof must remain futile. Similar is the case here.

Another tendency among our *sīrah* writers is to depict Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in the worst ~~state~~ of a *mazlūm*. This trend may be the result of verbatim reproductions. And when through a 'mircale' or 'chance' some degree of success or achievement is traceable to them in Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) 'pitiabile situation' ( *اعوذ بك من شرور النفسى* ) these writers start demanding eulogy for their 'prophet' and then go on enumerating all the praiseworthy characteristics in *nabuwah* and the *risālah* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). In an age of scientific and analytical research such tendencies must be a closed chapter now.

An *'abd*, created, selected and trained for grand designs by his *Rabb*, enjoined to remain steadfast in trials, assured of progressive success and triumphs, must ever remain in full command over all situations. It is Allah Who plans his affairs, and this dauntless *'abd* works under His direct guidance.

## MUHAMMAD (A.S.T.) THE BESTOWER OF THE IDEAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In al-Qur'an itself there are no doubt prohibitions on **الرِّبَا** (unlawful excess earnings) and **المِير** (increase without efforts), and injunctions against economic exploitation. Qur'an recommends that the transactions should be taken down and in weights and measures there should be honest dealings. Concentration of wealth and hoarding ( **وَالَّذِينَ يَكْنِزُونَ** / **بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ** ) are deprecated. Some such other fundamental principles, including that of *'adl* and *qist* are also laid down in the Qur'an. Nevertheless, not only that the Qur'an is not a book on economics but when the Qur'an keeps silence over detailed, complicated and varied working and laws on Economics, though still the humanity required them, we as '*submissive ones*' (Arabic: *muslim*) must search the *ḥikmah* (rationale) of Allah, the All Knowing, in this procedure. In commenting on *tibyānan li kulli shaiy'in* (as an exposition of all things/16:89) Mufti Shafī' maintains that to search (detailed) societal matters and their solutions in Qur'an is in itself wrong. Hence, on the basis of the Qur'anic fundamentals the *aḥādith* of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) elaborate such problems<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1. Mufti Muhammad Shafī', *ma'ārif al-Qur'ān* (Karachi, 1983) V, 374 (in 8 vols) (commentary in Urdu).

For the guidance of the *ummah* in particular and for the humanity in general the above Qur'anic **أَمْرًا** must have been worked out in detail and all the concomitant commendatory and prohibitory decrees, ordinances and commandments must have been issued. In many a case practical demonstration was also indispensable.

This was neither the work of al-Qur'an nor that of *al-Islām*. We require a human being of flesh and blood who is chaste in his dealings, effective in enforcement and penetrating in his wisdom; a man like us ( **أَنَا بَشَرٌ مِّثْلُكُمْ** 41:6); who eats food and walks in the 'market' ( **يَأْكُلُ الطَّعَامَ وَيَسْجِي فِي الْأَسْوَاقِ** 25:7); one who lives a life time among us ( **فَقَدْ لَبِثْتُ فِيكُمْ عُمُرًا مِّنْ**

**قَبْلِهِ ۖ أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ** 10:16);

one who promulgates the laws of the realm; and one who leaves for posterity his *sunnah* and *aqwāl* as abiding and guiding principles.

And what is *al-Qur'an*? It is the direct articulation of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), confirming by him alone that, though spoken by him, they are not his own words but the very words of Allah. And because we have conviction in Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as *amīn* and *ṣādiq*, when he says that they are not his own words but Revelation from Allah ( **وَأَمْنُوا بِمَا نَزَّلَ**

**عَلَىٰ مُحَمَّدٍ ۖ وَهُوَ الْحَقُّ** ), we believe that they are the very words of Allah. This *āyat* could have been revealed but in *sūrah* Muḥammad (47:2), revealed through Jibrīl *amīn* to the heart of Muḥammad ( **فَإِنَّهُ نَزَّلَهُ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ** 2:97).

And what is *al-Islām*? It is not an 'enforcing authority' as heads of states, legislators and framers of constitutions. It is simply a behaviour or conduct of a selected human group. Literally *muslim* is one who submits to the Will and Command of Allah ( **ادْخُلُوا فِي السِّلْمِ كَآفَّةً** 2:208). *Islām*, therefore, means the Code of Submission. Basically and initially, of course, *islām* does mean submission to Allah, but there is one

more authority — and only one authority more — the personality of the *Nabī/Rasūl al-Ummī* (A.S.T.) to whom the 'submissive ones' are also to submit. Eighteen times at least joint *tā'a* of Allah and His *Rasūl* (A.S.T.) has been demanded in the Qur'an from the *mōminīn* and *muslimīn* in multifarious ways. As regards this *tā'a* on the part of the Followers of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) Allah declares that the *rusul* are not sent but for unquestionable, unqualified and unreserved and ever binding surrender and obedience (4:63):

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَّسُولٍ إِلَّا لِيُطِيعَ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ

It can well be appreciated that when Muhammad (A.S.T.) had himself surrendered in totality his will and purpose to the Will and Command of Allah ( وَأَنَا أَتَوَّنُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

6:163) and when we submit to and obey Muḥammad (A.S.T.), we are actually obeying and surrendering our will and purpose to Allah.

This distinct, clear-cut and all-pervading authority of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) — and of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) alone — has been pronounced and demanded by Allah Himself ( وَمَنْ يُطِيعِ الرَّسُولَ = 4:79). More than one hundred and ten times the trilateral root of *tā'a* (to obey, to surrender) has been used in the Qur'an but nowhere *muslim/mōmin* has been instructed to *tā'a* Qur'an or Islam. No doubt *al-Qur'an* being *bushrā wa hudā* (2:97) we are bound to take guidance from it in the way explained to us by Muḥammad (A.S.T.). *Islam* meaning 'surrender', one does not obey 'surrender'.

As we proceed further, we shall be discussing *ih̥tikār* (monopoly of wealth) but to further substantiate our main introductory theme let us examine one Qur'anic *āyat* in advance.

Allah desires that the riches and wealth do not circulate (as a commodity) among the rich only: كَيْ لَا يَكُونَ دُولَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ

مِنْكُمْ (59:7). But as the writers generally do, to quote an incomplete portion of the whole *āyat* is sheer injustice to Allah's Rasūl, Muḥammad (A.S.T.). The complete Verse is: ". . . that it become not a commodity between the rich among you, and whatsoever the Rasūl gives you, accept it; and from whatsoever he forbids, abstain (from it); and be afraid (*ittaqū*) of Allah. Lo! Allah is stern in Retribution". In the concluding portion of the Verse if there was to be no mentioning of Allah's fear and retribution, even then the earlier command was enough for *Rasūl's* (A.S.T.) obedience but a *muslim/mōmin* was but to know his fate in not accepting the prohibitory and permissive Ordinances of the Rasūl (A.S.T.). Hence the concluding portion. How on the basis of *sunnatu'r-Rasūl* and *aqwālu'r Rasūl* the *Fuqahā* developed the Theory of Monopoly/Concentration of Wealth, we shall presently see. Except بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ, the word احتكار has not been mentioned in the Qur'an. This *āyat* particularly deals with *amwāl* (goods).

I venture to suggest that there is no such thing as "The Economic System of Islam". If there is any 'Economic System' in the *Sharī'at Muḥammadīyah*, let me submit, it is simply through Muḥammad (A.S.T.) alone.

As is obvious to every 'submissive one' (*muslim*), there can be no independent 'Economic System' but within the larger and indivisible framework solely based on the Revelational experience of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and his own *sunnah* and *aqwāl*. And *wahī* is the recital communication to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) of Allah's Will and Command for the overall guidance of man: وَأَنْزِلْ مَا أَوْحَى إِلَيْكَ مِنْ كِتَابٍ (18:27 and 29:45). Through this revelational experience Muḥammad (A.S.T.) becomes *shāhid* (witness), *bashīr* (bringer of good tidings); *nadhīr* (warner), *dā'ī* (inviter to Allah) and *sirāj muni'r* (the



illuminating lamp (33:45-7). Muḥammad (A.S.T.) alone is the discerner of the Divine Will.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) with his multi-dimensional personality was in perfect harmony with the general details of the overall requirements and needs of the human collective life, of which Economics is only a part.

Except Muḥammad (A.S.T.) no other human being in the whole economic history of mankind has subjected commercial and business transactions to highest moral scruples. Not as a speculative or an idle thinker, not as a non-practical writer on Economics, not as a layman devoid of power and authority, *but* as a political economist, as a promulgative ruler and as an economic and commercial veteran he has played a vital and decisive role in various fields of economic life for over a period of forty years. Absolutely intolerant to any kind of economic exploitation, he remained most vehement in condemnation of economic and commercial dishonesty. Himself setting the highest examples of honesty, integrity, equity and justice, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was not prepared to admit a dishonest dealer, a monopolist, a hoarder, expoliter and a devourer of unlawful earnings as his Follower (*ummat*)<sup>(2)</sup>:

مَنْ غَشَا فَلَيْسَ مِنَّا (one who cheats/swindles/deceives us is not from us).

### The Economic Absolutism

One of the prime causes of *Fasād* (corruption rampant) on the earth or world evils, calamities, wars, destitution, ruination is the selfish and narrow materialistic tyranny and economic exploitation not only on the part of the individuals but nations too, may be pre-Muḥammad (A.S.T.), medieval or modern periods of human history. To force the Bengalis to 'freely' enlist themselves in the army, the British Overlords of Delhi created a man-made famine in 1943 during World War II

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2. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitābu l-Īmān*, 164 (Misr, 1327/1902).

in Bengal. When Moses expected from Korah to share his riches with his own folk Korah was of the opinion that his riches were due to his own skill alone (28:78-9). One of the major roots of *fasād* referred to in the Qur'an among the Israelites of old was devouring of *al-Ribā* (4:161). From the point of view of British Imperial interests the main cause of World War II was world wide trade monopoly of Germany and Japan. In our times monopolistic capitalism of the West and the totalitarian economy of communism have again let loose the same forces of *fasād* and have thrown open an economic challenge to those 'submissive ones' who regard all resources and the wealth as Allah's and remain afraid of Retribution. The economic war between developed countries and the Third World and the North-South dialogue are more recent modern instances. Nowadays USA and Britain are threatening an economic war against Japan.

Do the revelationally based *sunnah*, *aqwāl* and *sukūt* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), the *ummi* Nabī/Rasūl, offer any just and rational solution to this shameful economic betrayal and exploitation of the common man at large? The present writer has neither belief nor faith but has conviction in it.

Let us examine a tentative reply:

During the thirteen years of opposition the Qureish were not prepared to accept the path of virtue, equity and justice of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) because they envisaged no 'profits' in the bargain, to which Qur'an refers through this phraseology "And they observe: 'If we were to follow the guidance with thee, we should be torn out of our land.' Have We not established for them a sure sanctuary, whereunto the produce of all things (*thamar*) is brought (in trade), a sustenance (*rizq*) from Our Presence? But most of them know not!" (28:57 – a Makkan *sūrah*). But when the Arabs did follow the moral and spiritual *sunnah* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), within sixtyfive years of the death of their Nabī/Rasūl (A.S.T.) they themselves took the Message of economic 'adl and qist to the three Continents, through land and sea, first during the

Khilāfah of 'Umar and 'Uthmān and then in that of Walīd bin 'Abd al- Malik the Umayyad Khalīfah (705-15 A.C.), believing that all sustenance (*rizq*) is from Allah and He alone is *Mālik*, *Rāziq* and *Wārith*.

### Economic Theory and the Hereafter

Two fundamentals must be borne out in mind at the outset, irrespective of belief and acquiescence:

No. 1. An independent Economic Theory or System, devoid of revealed concepts of morality and ethics as commanded by Allah and developed by Muḥammad (A.S.T.), remains basically disallowed and, hence, incomprehensible.

No. 2. The ultimate object with Allah in the creation of man is the *ḥasanatun* and *sa'ādatun* (goodness and bliss) in the Hereafter, through first attaining them individually and collectively by *muslim/mōmin* in this world, following Allah's *subul* (the *ṣirāt mustaqīm*) as explained and worked upon by his last Nabī/Rasūl (A.S.T.).

Therefore, all worldly activities remain subject to that ultimate goal. Hence any Economic System will not be an end in itself but one of the means to attain the final aim of life:

As for those who will attain Bliss (11:109).

### 'Ibādāt and Mō'āmalāt

The assertion by some Muslim experts on Economics that it was neither necessary for nor the sphere of the Rasūl (A.S.T) to tell the people *de novo* regarding the system of trade and commerce<sup>(3)</sup>, appears to be not convincing. As regards *'ibādāt* and *mō'āmalāt*, though an artificial demarcation in itself, Allah has exposed

يٰۤاَيُّهَا لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ (16:89)

and explained وَكُلُّ شَيْءٍ فَصَلْنٰهُ تَفْصِيْلًا ۝ (17:12). The *silim* to

3. Cf. Dr. Muhammad Nijatullah Siddiqi, "*Shari'a Principles on shirka and muḍārba*" (in Urdu), pp. 12-13, Islamic Publications Ltd., (Lahore, 1978).

Allah and submission to the *sunnah* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being indivisible whole, spirit and matter, church and state, worship and transactions, individual freedom and service of humanity, this world and the Hereafter have no watertight compartments. Thus *'ibādāt* and *mō'āmalāt* are not only interdependent but interspersed. Take the case of *Zakāt*. It is simultaneously at once further purification of the otherwise lawful incomes, highest kind of *ṣadaqah*<sup>(4)</sup>, government taxation, subsidy for social welfare and, along with *ṣalāt*, the foremost *'ibādāt*. For Public Treasury and in Economics *Zakāt* plays the vital role. Under *bāb al-ṣhirkah* of *kitāb al-buyū'* Abū Dā'ūd in his *sunan* has narrated a *ḥadīth qudsī* thus: "Till such time neither of the two partners commits perfidy against the other, Allah says, that I become their third partner"<sup>(5)</sup>. Because of this very transactional piety the Rasūl (A.S.T.) has declared honest earnings and lawful trade as next to *ṣalāt* in the eyes of Allah. In *sūrah al-Mā'ūn* even the foremost *'ibādāt* of *ṣalāt* has been pronounced by Allah as 'outward show' if it fails to generate acts of kindness to fellow men, i.e. every good and kind deed, as Bukhārī puts it:

(6) المعروف كله

To us, therefore, there is no clear demarcation between *'ibādāt* and *mō'āmalāt*.

### Periods of Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) life from Economic Point of View:

Purely from the point of view of trade and commerce the life of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) can be roughly divided, if so permissible, into four periods:

1. From childhood to the youth of twenty years, under the

4. *Ṣadaqah* does not mean 'charity' but a 'piece of truthfulness'. Similarly *'khaiyrāt*' also does not mean 'charity'.

5. Abū Dā'ūd, *sunan*, *kitāb al-buyū'*, *bāb al-ṣhirkah*, II, 229, (Cairo 1952).

6. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-tafsīr*, vol. II, 142, (Merruth, Hashmi, 1328 H).

patronage of his eldest uncle Zubair bin 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) participated in *ḥarb al-fijār* and *ḥilf al-fudūl*<sup>(7)</sup>. In no historical record reference is traceable to any property or cash being inherited by him from his father 'Abd Allah who died few days earlier before the birth of this orphan. During this period Muḥammad (A.S.T.) started having modest wages by pasturing sheep and goats of his neighbours<sup>(8)</sup>: قال ما رعى لها من المكة بالقرىط — an orphan boy in the vastness of the untamished desert earning his earliest livelihood!

2. From the age of 20 when Zubair died till the age of forty when he received the Call (*Ba'that*) Muḥammad (A.S.T.) developed mercantile competence and worked either in *shirkah* or in *muḍārabah*.

During these twenty years Muḥammad (A.S.T.) undertook several journeys to Filistīn (Boşra) (further north of Jerusalem), to Najd (tribes of Banī Sulaym and Banī 'Āmir), to Najrān (Banī Kinda and Banī Ḥārith), a Christian majority area (almost north to Yamen), to Yamen (Ṣan'a') and Ḥubāsha and, perhaps to 'Adan too; and at least once in 'Omān (territory of the 'Abdul Qaiys tribe) to the fair of Dāba<sup>(9)</sup>. These business trips seem to have taken place during the years 20-40. Moreover, during the Ḥajj season (*jāhiliyyah* days) he

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7. Ibn Sa'd, *ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, I, pp. 81-82, (Leiden, 1323/1905).

8. "I used to graze the sheep and goats of the Makkans for *qarārīṭ*", Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.* *qīrāṭ* is a measure/weight (Instead of cash, payment was made in kind).

9. Main references are:

a) Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, I/I, 83 and VIII, 108.

b) Ibn Ishāq, I, 121, *sīrat*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858-60.

c) Al-Sarakhsī (d. 899 a.c.), *al-mabsūṭ*, XXII, 8, (Misr, al-Sa'ada Press, 1324 a.h.)

d) Muir, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 11 and 12, (Edinburgh, 1912).

e) Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 112, (London, 1946).

f) Hamidullah (Dr. Muhammad); *Muhammad Rasulullah* (in English) paras: 6, 8, 9, 20 (Hyderabad, 1974/1394).

made brisk business. Apart from that, he used to carry out some wholesale business in Makkah during normal days.

Whether during these years (20-40) Muḥammad ever travelled by sea with merchandise goods to any other country has not been recorded by any *sīrah* or *ṭabaqāt* writer or compiler of *ḥadīth* literature. But this silence cannot rule out the possibility of such a trade journey by sea and such a discussion will not be against any old taboos.

Presuming as they do that Qur'an is the word of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and finding so many thorough and meticulous references to sea therein with vivid descriptions about sailing of the ships, tempest, bad weather, psychological effects on the boatmen of the perils of the sea ( *فَتَنَسَّلُوا وَتَذَهَّبَ* )

8:47) and naval technical terms, the European scholars were tempted to conclude that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) could not have had observed that ( *اعوذ بك من شرور انفسى* ) unless he had himself travelled by sea<sup>(10)</sup>. On the basis of their analogy if we propose that because of his journey in the outer space through the famous *mi'rāj* Muḥammad (A.S.T.) himself witnessed the whole cosmological system as referred to in the Qur'an, what the Europeans have to say?

Anyway, the famous Russian scholar Barthold in his article in Russian language "Qur'an and Sea" concluded that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) must have travelled by sea. The German version of the article, translated by Ritter, was published in *Zeitschrift der Morgenländische Gesellschaft*. This German version is our reference<sup>(11)</sup>. A great living orthodox Muslim authority, Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah has also discussed the

10. Cf. Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23, fn. 2.

11. ZDMG, pp. 38-42, (Berlin, 1929).

possibility and has suggested that with mercantile goods Muḥammad (A.S.T.) might have made journey by sea to Ḥabashah (Abyssinia)<sup>(12)</sup>. The reason of the conclusion being that not only the Rasūl (A.S.T.) allowed the first *Hijrah* to Ḥabashah but wrote such a friendly letter to the king as if he was sure of the hospitality. This required intimate knowledge of the people and the country on his part.

That he took the goods of Khadijah during the years 20-25 on the basis of *Muḍārabah* is a well known fact<sup>(13)</sup>. As regards *shirkah* it is reported that when after *Hijrah* the Rasūl (A.S.T.) met Sā'ib b. Shurayk in Madinah the latter reminded the former that both conducted business through *Shirkah* at Makkah and commended the transactions<sup>(14)</sup>.

3. During the thirteen years Makkan period of *nabuwah* and *risālah* (40-53) the *sīrah* writers are almost silent as to the commercial activities of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). The narration of preaching and propogation was, of course, being more important to them, they have neglected this aspect of his life.

No doubt, after marriage he shifted to the house of Khadijah but nobody would be allowed to presume that for the next thirteen years (40-53) he and his children were depending on the wealth of Khadijah<sup>(15)</sup>. There is a very weighty reason for that and that too on the authority of Khadijah *Ummu 'l-mōminīn* herself. Bukhārī says that at the time of the first Revelation when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) reported the anxious moments to Khadijah the noble wife

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12. His article (in Urdu) "*ḥabsha aur 'arab*" in the book "*ḥabsha aur aṭṭaliyah*" (Abyssinia and Italy), pp. 107 and 108, published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (No. 85), Aurangabad, Deccan, ed. Akhtar Husain (published probably in the beginning of 1936 as deducible from the PS on page 163).

13. *mabsūt*, *op. cit.*, XXII, 18.

14. *Ibid*, XI, 151.

15. That has nothing to do with the devotion to her husband and to his Message by this noble lady, the first Mother of the Faithful.

replied: "When you are spending (your) money on meeting the debts of the hard hit people and helping the needy, Allah will not forsake you"<sup>(16)</sup>. She could not have passed such a remark if he was meeting the two expenses out of Khadījah's money!

At the time of Hijra Muḥammad (A.S.T.) left 'Alī behind to return the deposits of the non-Muslim Makkans, which were in his safe custody, because, as regards his *amānat* and *ṣadāqat*, these two characteristics were still above reproach upto the very last moments. Many a times the present writer has felt that even during this hectic and tumultuous period of Makkan stay Muḥammad (A.S.T.) must have been still doing some business, even if on a minor scale.

4. From the point of view of the present article the ten years' Madinah period (53-63) is the most important and has far reaching consequences. With the overall responsibilities of the social and political order of his own creation, with full control over day to day '*ibādāt/mō'āmalāt*' of his dedicated Followers and with the gradual and progressive Revelation concerning all constitutional and legislative fields the personality of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) emerges in full bloom with vigour and vitality, in economic spheres too.

During this period though details are lacking regarding commercial activities of the Rasūl (A.S.T.), nevertheless still some dealings are recorded on the basis of which definite conclusions can be drawn.

Bukhārī, on the authority of 'Umar, reports that through selling the date-fruits of the Jewish tribe of Banū Naḍir the Rasūl (A.S.T.) used to store foodgrains for his family for the

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16. *Ṣaḥīḥ, bāb al-baḍ' l-waḥī*, I, 3, *op. cit.*:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَا يَخْزِيكَ اللَّهُ أَبَدًا إِنَّكَ لَتَصِلُ الرَّجُلَ وَتَحْمِلُ الْكُلَّ.



whole of the year. The actual wordings are: **لَا يَبِيعُ مَخْلُوبًا** (17). This information (it is not his 'saying' — *ḥadīth*, but his *Sunnah*) discloses several important facts. Till such time Banū Naḍīr were not expelled from Madinah (Rabī' 1, 4 a.h.) (18), Muḥammad (A.S.T.) used to purchase their produce of the dates. This appears to be his usual yearly practice. Because of his pre-occupations as Head of the Madinah State it is obvious that he was not selling the stuff in retail but through whole-sale. Moreover, he was not purchasing the unripe dates while still in the trees, because such transactions he had himself forbidden (19). Further, he was first having control over the thing purchased (*mabī'*) and then selling it. It is also clear that apart from state function he was also working for *qūt ḥalāl*. This practice he might have continued till such time he had his share from the *Khārāj* revenues from *Khaybar* (7 a.h.). In times of need he used to mortgage his coat of mails to purchase the food-grains for his family (20):

لَقَدْ رَهَنَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ دَرْعَالَهُ  
بِالْمَدِينَةِ عِنْدَ يَهُودِيٍّ وَاخْذَمَتْهُ شَعِيرَاتُ الْأَهْلِ

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17. *Tajrīd, Bukhārī, bāb al-naṣāqāt*, p. 898, Malik Din Muhammad, (Lahore, n.d.).

18. Ibn Ishāq, *sīrat*, II, 203, (Misr, Saqqa 1375/1955).

19. *Tajrīd, Bukhārī, op. cit., kitābul buyū'*, p. 412. Muslim, *ṣaḥīḥ*, Eng. translation, Siddiqi, III, 801, No. 3640; *Hedāyah* (Marghenānī), Eng. Translation Hamilton, p. 300, col. 2, (Premier Book House, Lahore, 1982).

20. *Tajrīd, op. cit.*, p. 394, *kitābul buyū'*.

## Terms *sunnat*, *aqwāl* and *sukūt* explained

The Economic System which originated during Makkan period and developed and got currency during the Madinah period was based on his three decision-making behaviours:

a) *Sunnat* is the way or rule or manner of acting or conduct of life or the like. *Al-Sunnat* only what Muḥammad (A.S.T.) has commanded to do by deeds of such conduct details of which are not mentioned in the Qur'an; thus the institutes of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) or his rule or usage in law signify the way of his action etc<sup>(21)</sup>. *Sunnat al-Hudā* (the *sunnah* of the right direction) is that of which the observance is the completion of the *dīn* (religion) and it is that to the omission or neglect whereof attach blame and misdemeanour<sup>(22)</sup>. This is how Imām Shāfi'ī has defined Rasūl's *sunnah*: "... they may know that abiding to Rasūl's (A.S.T.) command is act of obedience to Allah; and that his *sunnah* is a supplement to the Book of Allah, as to what He has sent down, and that it never contradicts the Qur'an"<sup>(23)</sup>. In terms of Economics if e.g., Muḥammad (A.S.T.) has adopted a certain procedure in *shirkah* and *mudārabah*, it becomes his *sunnah*.

b) *Aqwāl* (sing. *qawl*) for our purposes would be such economic or commercial directives or instructions, may be permissive or prohibitory, which become legal maxims. They are his 'sayings' and it is not necessary that he himself might have observed or abstained from such practices. Take the case, regarding his sayings on *ribā*, *malāmasah*, *bai' ṣarf* etc. -dealings or transactions which he allowed or disallowed.

c) Finally comes *Sukūt*, his third economic behaviour, in which he neither performed nor disallowed any transaction but by keeping silence he gave his tacit consent to any com-

21. *Al-mabsūt*, op. cit., XXII, 18.

22. Lane, E.W. Arabic-English Lexicon Book I, part 4, p. 1438, (N.Y. 1956) (under *sunnat*).

23. *al-Risālah* (ed. Shakir, Cairo, 1946), p. 146.

mendable commercial dealing undertaken by his Companions (*aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*).

Unbelievable abundant literature on all the three aspects is available in *ḥadīth* and *fiqhī* books.

Here comes the work of *Fuqahā* through centuries. In analyzing Qur'anic injunctions and the three decision-making patterns of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) the Muslim jurists/legists tried to find such beneficial rules and laws incorporation of which was necessary in the eyes of the *Sharī'ah* and pin-pointed such harmful and injurious dealings the eradication of which was its very motive. On all matters of trade and commerce all the *Fuqahā* of all the Schools of Thought kept these two principles in mind. Such trade dealings which appeared to them in consonance with the spirit of the *sharī'ah* they approved; and those which appeared to them repugnant to the spirit of the *sharī'ah*, they disapproved. In books on *Fiqh* the details of trade and commerce have been worked out on this very principle. The narrations on *sunnah*, *aqwāl* and *sukut* were available in books on *ahādīth* (Sayings of the Rasūl). On the basis of this material the *Fuqahā* analyzed the exigencies of the three decision-making behaviours of the Rasūl (A.S.T.), and codified them.

In the following pages an attempt is being made to point out certain aspects of the *sunnah*, *aqwāl* and *sukūt* of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) dealing with some of the commercial and economic problems and their solutions. An exhaustive treatment of the Economic System as initiated, worked upon and developed by the Rasūl (A.S.T.) is neither within the limits of an article nor the work of a student of Muslim History. It is the work of the experts and the specialists who have full command over the Arabic language, have extensively and accurately studied hundreds of original books (some of them running into no less than 30 volumes) on *fiqh*, and *ḥadīth* and *ma'āshiyāt* and *iqtisādiyyāt* written during the course of centuries, are well versed with the modern highly complicated economic and

commercial systems, including banking and international trade and loans and, above all, are the 'submissive ones'. The door of *ijtihād*, it is claimed, is not closed.

### Āthār Ṣaḥābah

Apart from the Qur'anic injunctions and the three decision-making behaviours of the Rasūl (A.S.T.), on the basis of which the *fuqahā* examined and analyzed the Economic System, there is one more source known as *āthār ṣaḥābah*, i.e., the deeds and utterances of the Companions of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) in all matters of society and state, which themselves were based on the earlier two sources. In case of difference of opinion or interpretation among the *Ṣaḥābah* on any issue whatsoever (including the economic problems), their conflicting approaches were neglected and recourse was made to the Rasūl (A.S.T.) and beyond him to his Allah. Qur'an is very emphatic on this issue:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا  
الرَّسُولَ وَأُولَى الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ  
إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ  
ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا

“And if you have a dispute concerning any matter, refer to Allah and the Rasūl if you are (in truth) believers in Allah and the Last Day. That is better and more seemly in the end” (4:58).

It is reported that certain Companions of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) used to give their cultivable lands on rent after the demise of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) but when it was brought to their notice by such notable Companions such as Nāfi', Rāfi' b. Khadij and others that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) used to forbid the renting of land (كُرِهَتْ عَنِ الْكِرَاءِ) the former abstained from renting land any more<sup>(24)</sup>.

24. Cf. *tajrīd*, *op. cit.*, p. 440; and *ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim, Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, Nos. 3736-45.

### The Three Decision-Making Behaviours/Patterns:

To clarify the point, a few examples out of hundreds, are being discussed.

i) Shirkat: Partnership by contract consists for association on the condition that the capital and its benefits be common between two or more partners.

Mudārabah: partnership on the condition that the capital is to be found by one and the labour and the work be found by the other partner <sup>(25)</sup>.

The Rasūl (A.S.T.) himself not only carried out commercial transactions both through shirkah and mudārabah during the Makkan stay (from 20 to 53 years of age) but during the Madinah period, as head of the state, gave instructions in both the spheres. Dealings below all conceivable ethical and moral standards were vehemently disapproved by him. Sarakhsi has reported that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) approved through sukūt a particular type of mudārabah transaction carried out by his cousin 'Abd Allah bin 'Abbas<sup>(26)</sup>.

Thus for these two transactions all the three decision – making behaviours of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) are available.

The Fuqahā thus codified several possibilities of partnership adjustable to modern requirements. A brief notice of one of them, شركة, may make an interesting reading. In shirkat wujūh there is no partnership capital and the partners buy goods/property on their own personal credit

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25. For details (in English) on the two vide The *Mejelle of Iḥkām-i 'Adliyah* of the 'Uṭhmānī Khulafā by Tyser and others, published by All Pakistan Legal Decisions, Lahore, 1967 (articles 1329-1403 and 1404-30); and *Hedāyah* (Marghenānī's Eng. Trans.) by Hamilton, Book XIV, pp. 217-31 and Book XXVII, pp. 454-71,

26. *Al-mabsūt*, op. cit., XXII, 19.

and sell on many accounts<sup>(27)</sup>. From Arabic *wajh* (countenance) *shirkat wujūh* literally means a company being run on the basis of personal credit/reputation of the members. The modern Muslim jurists and economists are, therefore, of the opinion that modern international trade does fall under the category of *Shirkat wujūh*.

Honesty, integrity and fair dealings in all commercial enterprises run as crimson thread in all the three decision – making behaviours of the Rasūl, *al-Ummī* (A.S.T.).

Sā'ib bin Shurayk, the *shirkah* partner of the Makkan days of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), has this to report:

"I was a partner of Muḥammad (A.S.T.); when he went out with my goods, on his return to Makkah, he gave me the full account of the business he had made of my merchandise, and this even before going to his house and taking rest and meeting the family; on the other hand, if it was my turn to go, on my return he would welcome me, ask me only about my health and well-being and not a word about his capital, and there was never a quarrel about the price or other affairs of the joint stock trade"<sup>(28)</sup>. With tears in his eyes Sā'ib is relating these pre-*nabuwa* dealings of his partner in later Madinah life.

In the modern system of 'Back to Back LC' the first purchaser instead of getting the delivery from the first seller sells in advance the goods so purchased to the second purchaser and directs the first seller to deliver the goods to the second purchaser. In *Bai' Salam* i.e. advanced payment and deferred delivery, this transaction is known as Conjunction of Two Contracts and is regarded valid because the Rasūl (A.S.T.) has permitted it. The only restriction imposed by him was the necessity of satisfaction on the part of the last purchaser who had advanced the money (the technical term for satisfaction used in this case is 'to measure')<sup>(29)</sup>.

27. *The Mejelle, op. cit., art. 1332.*

28. Cf. Hamidullah, *Muhammad Rasulullah, op. cit., para 24.*

29. *Hedāyah, op. cit, p. 305, col. I.*

## ii) *Al-Ribā* الرِّبَا

Rāghib al-Isfahānī in *al-mufradāt*, Murtaḍā in *tāj al-arūs* and Lane in *Lexicon* have given its literal meaning as 'an excess or addition' – from our standards excess over and above legitimate profits or gains. In this sense Qur'an has employed this word four times, one refers to the Israelites of old (4:159) (though in the 4th year of the Hijrah), the other in the 7th year of the Call (30:39), next in the 1st/2nd year of the Hijrah (2:257) and the last in the 3rd Year of the Hijrah (3:120). In all these three Verses *Ribā* has been declared *ḥarām* for the 'submissive ones'. It is only in 2:257 that Allah has distinguished clearly between, *al-Bai'* and *Ribā* and allowed the one and disallowed the other<sup>(30)</sup>:

قَالُوا إِنَّمَا الْبَيْعُ وَمِثْلُ الرِّبَا وَأَحَلَّ اللَّهُ الْبَيْعَ وَحَرَّمَ الرِّبَا

As per our earlier contention the fine line of demarcation between legal and lawful gains, benefits and profits in trade and illegal, unlawful and exorbitant amassing of wealth and riches through fraud and coercion in the name of trade was left by Allah for the Rasūl (A.S.T.) – and not for Islam – to determine, to specify and to enact. Whether *Ribā* is translated as 'excess', 'usury' or 'interest' matters little to the present writer. What matters is the intention and not hypocritical justification and plausible explanation.

Date fruits were brought from *Khayber* in lieu of *Kharāj* revenue. On an inquiry the Rasūl (A.S.T.) was informed that, for two capacities (Arabic: *Ṣā'*) of inferior quality one capacity of superior quality date-fruits were exchanged in barter, to which transaction the Rasūl (A.S.T.) denounced as *Ribā*. He recommended rather to first sell your goods and then buy afresh. This was to eliminate the possibility of any excess gains<sup>(31)</sup>.

30. Al-Qur'an, 2:275.

31. Cf. *Hedāyah*, op. cit., p. 243, col. 1, under 'Sale'; and *ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim, Siddiqi, op. cit., Nos. 3868-79.

*Bai' Sarf* is to make transfer/barter of money for money (gold for gold and silver for silver or *vice versa*) which must be from hand to hand. The articles may differ in quality but must be exactly in point of weight<sup>(32)</sup>. If there is no immediate seizing and if there is inequality in point of weight, the Rasūl (A.S.T.) declared it as *Ribā*<sup>(33)</sup>.

Suppose one *dīnār* is exchanged for ten *dirhem* and instead of seizen of *dirhems* if a piece of cloth is purchased, such a transaction has been declared as unlawful by the Rasūl (A.S.T.) because of the possibility of the *Ribā*<sup>(34)</sup>.

Imām Abū Yūsuf and Imām Muḥammad regard the supply of fresh meat under *Bai' Salam* (advanced payment, deferred delivery) as lawful, provided the flesh of the determinate part is specified, quantity and grossness of bones are notified and fatness or leanness of the slaughtered animal is known<sup>(35)</sup>. Under-specified supply being almost undetectable, the contractor will thus have ample opportunities of 'extra' profits. This is *ribā*, the ill-gotton gains. Take the case of world wide supply of cooked meat by contractors to present day international airlines. Nobody can know except the contractor himself that in this trade (*bai'*) how much 'ill-gotten gains' (*ribā*/excess) has accrued to him through this fraudulent supply!

Again, under *Bai' Salam* the fruits in an orchard are disallowed to be sold in advance unless they were in the stage of visibility, because the Rasūl (A.S.T.) is reported to have said:

"You shall not sell fruits by way of *Salam* unless their ripeness is apparent"<sup>(36)</sup>.

The approximate quantity being otherwise indeterminate.

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32. *Hedāyah, op. cit.*, p. 312.

33. *ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *ibid.*, p. 301.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 300.



such a sale amounts to sheer gamble. Hence ill-gotten gains might accrue either to the seller or to the purchaser.

In *Bai' Ṣarf* the articles opposed to each other are exchanged in barter from hand to hand on the spot. They may differ in quality but they must not differ in point of weight, otherwise the transaction would be considered as *Ribā* because the Rasūl (A.S.T.) has said:

“Sell gold for gold, from hand to hand, at an equal rate according to weight; for any inequality in point of weight is *Ribā*”<sup>(37)</sup>.

In our days this barter is affected through paper notes and not through metal currency (notes being representative of bullions). We are all aware that although the exchange rates of different currencies being legally binding, underhand *Bai' Ṣarf* is going on all over the world and fabulous 'ill-gotten gains' are accruing to currency racketeers. This is not *Bai' (Ṣarf)* but open *Ribā*.

US Dollar and Pakistani Rupee differ in quality but when exchange rate is fixed, both the currencies no more differ in 'weight'. But when one purchases Dollars in black market through the '*hidden alliances*' the profits which these racketeers amass are simple *Ribā* (the ill-gotten excess).

These fine lines of demarcations between *Bai'* (trade) and *Ribā* (excess) were to be the work of a human ruler-economist. Such is the *ḥikmah* (rationable) of Allah, *subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā*. I admit my ignorance if this practical clarification was to be entrusted either to al-Qur'an or to *al-islām* (the Code of Surrender)!

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37. *Hedāyah*, p. 212

The *sūrah al-Baqarah* was revealed in 2 a.h. and some of its *āyat* belong to a later period but not beyond the end of 4 a.h. Even if we concede that the relevant *āyat* of *al-Ribā* was revealed by the close of 4 a.h., the Rasūl (A.S.T.) still has had ample time – more than six years – to impart repeated and clear instructions regarding the difference between *al-Bai* and *al-Ribā*. Examples which we have given above are available in hundreds. In this context the *qawl* (saying) attributed to ‘Umar that the last *āyat* revealed being that of *al-Ribā* (2:275) the Rasūl (A.S.T.) passed away before its elucidation is totally unacceptable on at least three counts. The narration is:

حدثنا نصر بن علي الجهضمي ثنا خالد بن حارث ثنا معيد بن أبي عروبة عن قتادة عن

معيد بن المسيب عن عمر بن الخطاب قال إن آخر ما نزلت آية الربا وإن رسول الله صلى الله

عليه وسلم قبض ولم يفهموها.

“We heard from Naṣr b. ‘Alī al-Jahmī, he from Khālīd b. Hārith, who from Sa‘īd, who from Qatādah, who from Sa‘īd al-Musayyab, who from ‘Umar al-Khaṭṭab who said ‘the last *āyat* which was revealed was that of *ribā* and (soon) the Rasūl (A.S.T.) died and (as such) he did not elaborate it to us’ ”

1. a) Regarding Sa‘īd b. -abī ‘Urūbah it is said  
اختلط في آخره (in later life turned disordered in mind);

b) As regards Qatādah he has been declared as: مدلس  
*Mudallas* is one who suppresses some facts in narration (falsifier)<sup>(38)</sup>.

2. It is generally agreed that even the last Verses of *sūrah al-Baqarah* were revealed not later than the close of 4 a.h.<sup>(39)</sup>.

38. *Al-ghāyat al-maqṣūd (li man yuṭā‘atī al-‘uqūd)*, by Ibn ‘Umar al-Dānī al-Ghānī, (Misr, 1324 a.h.), p. 39.

39. On the authority of ‘Ā’ishah Muslim reports that when the concluding Verses of *sūrah al-Baqarah* pertaining to the *ribā* were revealed, the Rasūl (A.S.T.) went out to the *masjid* and he forbade the trade in wine, vide *ṣaḥīḥ*, Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, No. 3839. This flowing of wine in the streets of Yathrib belongs to 3 a.h. How can one then believe Sa‘īd and Qatādah, the two chain of narrators, let alone the name of ‘Umar the Great be there!

3. As we have given concrete example, it is amply demonstrated that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) did elucidate, interpret and exemplify the Qur'anic *Ribā* and did distinguish between trade and *Ribā* on several occasions and in several ways.

'Gains' in Interest, Simple or Compound, individual or institutional 'grow' slowly and gradually like profits in trade and, hence people of perverse approach ( *فَيُكْوِيهِمْ دَنِيًّا* ) may contest that certain kind of interest remain permissible.

Muhammad (A.S.T.) has banned ( *بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ* ) neither 'usury' nor 'interest' but has banned the 'excess' of the illgotten gains not for the "shameless insubordinates" but for the "submissive ones".

### iii) *Speculation*

With facial value of Rs. 10/- each the shares of a flourishing company are being daily sold and purchased, say for Rs. 30/- or Rs. 40/- per share by Stock-Exchange to and from absentee and prospective buyers and sellers.

Business magnates of repute float a fresh company. For months together 'nothing' exists except the premises and some machinery parts. Double track race starts among the prospective buyers for the supposed shares of Rs. 10/- each. Majority of the shares will go to the advertisers and their families to keep firm grip on the proposed affairs of the proposed company. After devouring Bank Interest for millions of rupees deposited by the wishful buyers, the major amount will be returned after several years. But neither the Share Brokers nor the wishful buyers are 'fools'. The moment the shares of Rs. 10/- each of the proposed Company are released they start being sold and purchased in advance, say at Rs. 30/- or Rs. 40/- each share at the Stock Exchange.

The commodities or goods are still hidden in the warehouse of the first owner. Neither the Stock-Broker nor the

first prospective buyer has had any access to them. But they are daily being sold and purchased at the Stock Exchange. When in the process the first buyer becomes the second owner and, subsequently the second seller, he and the second buyer might not have seen the commodities (as cotton or wheat) as yet, while the case of possession is still far away, they are hurled at each other in total darkness – all in the name of 'Trade'!

The commodities manufactured in a foreign country are still to take four to five months to arrive in another country. Nobody is in possession of them so far and none has seen them. And notwithstanding the Bill of Lading, Letter of Credit, Import Licence, Custom Clearance, they are being sold and purchased at Stock-Exchange under 'future transactions'.

All this leads to monopoly, hoarding, inflation, high prices and ruination. I have tried to translate modern Speculation into Arabic<sup>(40)</sup>:

بيع المبيع الغائب للبائع الغائب بتوسط الوكيل

In the garb of trade and commerce this shameful game of chance is being daily played by the devourers of wealth through the multiple process of ever 'excessive' (illgotten) gains. But Muḥammad (A.S.T.) did differentiate between Speculation and Trade. Whether Muḥammad (A.S.T.) knew that 14 centuries later the human beings will turn into greedy hounds, I do not know but I *do know* that through his prohibitory injunctions the only ruler-economist of the world forbade four types of speculative transactions. They are:

ملا مسه (mulāmasah), منابذه (munābadhah),  
بيع الغرر (bai' al-gharar) and بيع الحماة (bai' al-ḥaṣāt).

In *Mulāmasah* the buyer is not supposed to examine the commodity. In *Munābadhah* the goods are thrown at each other. In *Bai' al-Gharar* commodity not in possession of the

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40. The sale of the non-existing thing of the absentee seller sold by the (self-imposed) agent/broker.

seller is being sold. In *Bai'al-Ḥaṣāt* through a hit-and-miss method the transaction is completed. In modern capitalist economy the Speculation, which is nothing but blind gambling, is the improved 'proud' technique of the four old Arab *jāhilīyah* customs. The *bāb* on *kitābu' l-buyū'* of all the books on *ḥadīth* deals in detail with all these four prohibitory injunctions of the Rasūl (A.S.T.)<sup>(41)</sup> alone.

iv) *Al-Maisir*: To translate the Arabic word الميسر as gambling and then to conclude that only gambling has been prohibited by Allah and His Rasūl (A.S.T.) is not the whole truth. Literally *maisir* (from the root *yasira*) means "getting a gain without working for it". As Qur'an itself confirms, during the Madinah period when the Rasūl (A.S.T.) has already established a religio-politico-economic order, his followers enquired from him (يسئلونك , 2:219) about الميسر and *al-Khamr*. The Rasūl (A.S.T.) told them that in both of them is great sin and gains for the people; but the sin of them is greater than their *manfā'a*. In *Bai' Salam* the Rasūl (A.S.T.) did allow advance payment and deferred supply on two clear-cut conditions, namely a) when in orchards the fruits are visible and almost ripe; and b) not through any self-created broker سمسار but through direct transaction between buyer and seller<sup>(42)</sup>.

By any definition of modern system of Speculation it does squarely come within the meaning of *maisir*. Initially *ijtināb* (avoidance) from *al-maisir* was recommended (5:92); subsequently it was declared as *ḥarām* (9:30) and simultaneously Qur'an declared that Allah and His Rasūl (A.S.T.) were

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41. Cf. *ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim, Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, III, Nos. 3608-14; 3640-53; and *tajrid*, Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, p. 415 ff.

42. *ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim, *op. cit.*, Nos. 3906-09. cf. *tajrīd* (*op. cit.* p. 409). When Ibn 'Abbas was asked about the interpretation that "a person of the city should not sell for the outsider" he replied that by that is meant "one should not be his broker (*simsārun*)"

to be obeyed (5:93) in all prohibitory orders:

وَاطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَاطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَاحْدَرُوا فَإِنْ تَوَلَّيْتُمْ فَأَعْلَوْا أَنَّمَا  
عَلَى رَسُولِنَا الْبَلَاءُ النَّبِيُّ ۝

By repeating the word *atī'yū* clear and distinct authority of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) was maintained and pronounced by Allah.

Brokerage was not completely disallowed by the Rasūl (A.S.T.). The middleman may help the buyer and the seller in getting a fair deal. What the Rasūl (A.S.T.) disallowed was the uncalled for and undue gains by the broker through the ignorance of the buyers and the sellers or through fraudulent monopoly of the stock and the trade<sup>(43)</sup>.

#### v) Agriculture

Muhammad (A.S.T.) is reported to have said:

(44) اطلبوا الرزق في خبايا الارض "Search livelihood in that which is hidden in the earth". The term *khabaya'l-ard* may also mean the natural resources of the earth<sup>(45)</sup>. On the authority of Anas b. Mālik the Rasūl is reported to have said:  
ما من مسلم يفرس غرسا او يزرع زرعاً فياكل منه طيراً او انسان او بهيمة ان كان له به صدقة

"When a Muslim plants trees or cultivates land and when a bird or human being or an animal gets its sustenance from it, then there is reward for him"<sup>(46)</sup>.

As per instructions of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) if in the normal

43. Cf. *ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim, Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, No. 3629. As an explanation to the *ḥadīth* of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) that a townsman should not sell for the man of the desert Ibn Abbas said that it meant 'brokerage'.

44. *Majma'u 'l-zawā'id wa manba'u 'l-fawā'id*, by 'Alī b. Abu Bakr al Haiyṯami, p. 228, (Delhi, 1308 a.h.).

45. Vide Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic by Wehr, (N.Y., 1961) under *khaba*, p. 224.

46. *Tajrīd*, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

cases the cultivable land may not be given on hire, in special cases it may be permissible, e.g., if the owner is an orphan, a widow or a disabled person<sup>(47)</sup>. Thus the Rasūl (A.S.T.) has maintained a balance between land and labour. On the authority of Sa'b b. Jaththamah the Rasūl (A.S.T.) said:

لا جنى إلا لله ولرسوله. "The pastures are not but for (belong to) Allah and His Rasūl"<sup>(48)</sup>. Apart from being the property of the state, this *ḥadīth* reserves the right of legislation to the state too. It is also reported that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) himself cultivated the land at Jirāf<sup>(49)</sup>:

وازرع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بالجرف

vi) *Iktināz/ih̥tikār: Monopoly and Hoarding* اکتناز / احتکار

In the sense that wealth does not circulate among the rich only, in *sūrah al-Ḥashr* Allah has admonished the Muslims and has ordered them to surrender to the commands of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in this respect. Details we have discussed in the beginning<sup>(50)</sup>. Though the word احتکار not mentioned in the Qur'an itself, in literal sense it means: 'the laying up of anything', which in the language of the *Shari'ah* means: 'the purchasing of the necessities of life and laying them up with a view to enhance the price'; *Iktināz* means the amassing of wealth (e.g., gold and silver) as not to spend it among the people and not for the welfare of the community. Allah says:

"And those who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in Allah's way – announce to them (O Muḥammad) of a painful doom" (9:35). To Abū Yūsuf, a disciple of Abū Hanīfa, the hoarding also falls under *ih̥tikār*, monopoly<sup>(51)</sup>. As regards

47. For detail discussion see *tajrīd*, p. 442, on Ibn 'Umar's authority; *ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim, Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, Nos. 3714-57, pp. 811-17; and *Hedāyah*, *op. cit.*, Book XL, pp. 579-84.

48. *tajrīd*, -p. 448.

49. *al-Mabsūt*, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, p. 2.

50. see *supra*, p. 97

51. *Hedāyah*, *op. cit.*, Book XLIV, Sec. VI, p. 605.

*ihtikār*, on the authority of Ma'mar bin 'Abd Allah, the Rasūl (A.S.T.) is reported to have said: **من احتكر وهو غاطي** (he who hoards is a sinner)<sup>(52)</sup>.

What the Rasūl (A.S.T.) condemns here is not hoarding on the basis of 'time utility', if the constant flow of the produce is maintained. What is condemned here is to create artificial scarcity for undue advantages. On the basis of the above *ḥadīth* Marghinānī has concluded that the *Fuqahā* agree that the monopolizer, upon information, must be ordered by the *Qādī* to sell his surplus provisions<sup>(53)</sup>.

After all this discussion, it may be agreeable, therefore, to tell that in one of the *ḥadīth* the Rasūl (A.S.T.) has significantly used both the terms of *iqtisādiyāt* and *ma'āshiyāt*, namely: **الاتصاف بالنفقة نصف المعيشة**

"Careful management in expenditure is half of the Economic System"<sup>(54)</sup>.

In matters of *Iqtisādiyāt* and *Ma'āshiyāt* the function of Muḥammad *muṣṭafā* (the chosen one by Allah) (A.S.T.) was to awaken the practical morality among his followers and to guide them to the path of righteous and lawful earnings. In the process of elaborating and elucidating the *Hikmah* of his *Rabb* this unlettered ruler-economist through normative examples and directions left his *sunnah* for eternal compliance. It is he who told mankind that *Ḥalāl* is as much sacred as *Ḥarām* is repugnant and disallowed. It is he who told that the material bounties from Allah are to be developed and

52. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, Nos. 3910-11, p. 845.

53. *Hedāyah*, *op. cit.*, p. 606.

54. *Kanzu'l- 'Ummāl (fī sunan al-aqwāl wa'l-aḥwāl)* by al-Muttaqī al-Hindī (Ibn Qādī Khān), (Da'iratu'l - Ma'arif, Deccan, 1364 a.h.) vol. II, 48.



utilized with a sense of humility and gratitude.

The society and polity of the creation of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) are unique experience which fundamentally differ in formation and execution with all the other conceived societies and states of the world. In other systems it is the state which first comes into existence and then the laws are enacted and enforced but in the society created by Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to the all-comprehensive laws of the Qur'an and the *sunnah* the 'submitted ones' had to acquiesce in advance prior to such formation, both logically and in terms of time. The famous Three Pledges of 'Aqabah in the 10th, 11th and 12th years of the Call (*Ba'thah*) are clear pointers in the direction. The society and polity are being created in the Madinah period — to enforce the laws of the *sharī'ah*.

Vigorous and wide-spread commercial, mercantile and economic crusade as per Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) persuasive *sunnah* pre-supposes productive and affluent Muslim society quite averse to self-denial and self-negation. What this ruler/economist disapproved was not material prosperity but moral terpidity in *ma'āshiyāt* and *iqtisādiyāt*, as already explained.

After reciting, "And when the *ṣalāt* (*al-Jum'ah*) is ended, then disperse in the land and seek the bounty of Allah" (62:10) the *Ṣaḥābah* used to add:

"O Allah! I responded to Thine call and offered Thine obligatory *ṣalāt* and came out of that gathering as per Thine command. Now provide subsistence to me through Thine favour, and Thou art the best of the providers"<sup>(55)</sup>.

Under the guidance of the *Sharī'ah* (the Qur'anic *āyāt* and the *sunnah*, *aqwāl* and *sukūt* of the Rasūl)(A.S.T.), while developing honest culture and true civilization, soon the

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55. *Tafsīr*, Ibn Kathīr, *sūrah* 62 (*al-Jum'ah*), *āyat* 10. This supplication is reported on the part of 'Arāk b. Mālīk, a Companion of the Rasūl (A.S.T.)

'submitted ones' will collectively launch an economic and commercial activity, subjected to lawful mobilization through land and sea, particularly under the Umayyad Khulafā' of Damascus, spreading over three continents and comprising multitudes of tribes and nations, believing in Allah as Khayrur – Rāziqīn and in Muḥammad (A.S.T.) having the best of the *uswah* as ruler-economist.

## ZAYNAB BINT JAḤSH

### -HER DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, the daughter of Umaymah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was one of the earliest converts to Islam and among the first *Muhājirāt* to Yathrib, the future Madīnatu 'n-Nabī. About 4 A.H she was married to Zayd b. Ḥārithah, once a slave of Muḥammad (A.S.T.)<sup>(1)</sup>, and, at the time, his adopted son. About a year and a half later she was divorced by Zayd and the Rasūl (A.S.T.) married her.

This is a simple and straightforward account of an otherwise grossly misrepresented historical fact. Due to the unfriendly approach of the Orientalists towards Islam and its last Nabī (A.S.T.), they deliberately gave a false colour to the incident with the result that even some Muslims equipped with 'modern education' doubt the actions of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) in this respect.

Sprenger<sup>(2)</sup>, the famous German orientalist of the 19th century, was perhaps the first person of repute who set the ball of calumny rolling. The thread was picked up by Caetani, the Italian writer. Through Muir, and Arnold this heap of well-calculated lies got currency and through the article of Vacca in the Encyclopaedia of Islam it received, as if, 'the

1. For not using either 'prophet' or 'messenger' for *nabī/rasūl* see the arguments of the author in the Preface.
2. Margoliouth, *Mohammad and the Rise of Islam*, (London, 1923), Preface, p. 4, points out Sprenger's reliance on untrustworthy authorities and his unscholarly approach.

final verdict'. The latest additions to the list of such Islamists are Tor Andrae<sup>(3)</sup>, Abbot<sup>(4)</sup> and subsequently Montgomery Watt.

When you initiate an adverse propaganda for nothing, the most efficacious method is first to suppress facts, to impugn clear circumstantial evidence, to create doubts in the minds of the readers, to insert false evidence and finally to jump to conclusions conceived in advance. The result is that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is declared to be at fault with Western criticism!

Sprenger<sup>(5)</sup>, Caetani<sup>(6)</sup> and V. Vacca<sup>(7)</sup> maintain that once Muḥammad (A.S.T.) called on Zayd b. Ḥārithah. Zayd was out. But Muḥammad (A.S.T.) saw Zaynab, his wife, in disarray, was attracted by her physical charms and was smitten by her love. He went away saying to himself: "Praise be to Allah, praise be to the Manager of hearts (*Muṣarrifu 'l-Qulūb*)!" It was love at first sight. Zayd, coming to know of the developments in his absence, divorced his wife to clear the way for his master and father. But his generosity did not clear the whole track. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was in a fix. How could he marry the divorced wife of his own adopted son? But Allah

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3. *Muhammad the man and his faith*, Eng. Trans., (Harper, New York), pp. 153-54 (original in German, 1932).

4. *Ā'yisha*, 16-18, (Chicago, 1942).

5. *Das Leben und die lehre des Muhammad*, vol. I, pp. 400 and vol. III, 76-77 (Berlin, 1869).

6. *Annali dell' Islam*, I, 610-11, (Milan, 1905) (dealing with the incidents of 5 A.H. under the caption "Matrimonio di moametto con zaynab").

7. Her article in *Ency. Islam*, IV, 1199-1200 (old edition).

through a revelation soon removed the obstacle, and} Muḥammad had his wish fulfilled and his scruples were finally set at rest”(8). Thus these Islamists conclude that this episode was a great scandal and ‘affirm’ that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was an old ‘sensual lecher’(9). Watt appears to be less prejudiced, but such is not the case(10). To him this affair was excusable according to the moral standards of the time(11). Trying to give a political colour to the marriage, he discusses it under the moral lapses of the Rasūl (A.S.T.)(12).

If the Islamists persist in their adverse and unfounded criticism, then the fault does not lie with them. The complacency of the Muslims is to be blamed. The fault lies at our door. Attempts have been made in the past to present the true facts of the case. As far as South Asia is concerned, three names are worth mentioning: Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898);(13) Shiblī Nu‘mānī (d. 1332 A.H.)(14); and Muḥammad ‘Alī Lāhorī (d. 1954)(15). As the works of the first two authors are in Urdu, perhaps they do not carry much weight with the Islamists. Lāhorī’s ‘Life of the Prophet’ and Sir Sayyid’s Essays’ are without documentation, and, as such,

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8. Sprenger, I, 400 and 405.

9. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*. (Oxford, 1956), 239, of course, freely quoting from an earlier Western authority.

10. *Ibid.*, 325; 329-31.

11. *Ibid.*, 329: Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is being placed in line with the [Jāhiliyyah] immorality.

12. *Ibid.*, 330-31.

13. *Ākhrī Maqāmīn* (Last Essays), pp. 161-68; compiled by Imamuddin, (Lahore, 1898).

14. *Sīrat al-Nabī*, I, 440-45; (‘Azamgadh’, India, 1364 A.H.).

15. *Muhammad, the Prophet*, 264 (Lahore, 1933) (the author was a Qādyānī).

of no use to them. Muḥammad 'Abduh of Egypt has also defended the action of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) in this respect<sup>(16)</sup>.

Not only belief in the most sublime moral standards of the *nabī/rasūl* (A.S.T.) of Allah is an article of faith with the Believers but they also have definite proof to vindicate his conduct. But in the modern age one has to substantiate one's views with incontrovertible evidence.

We shall try to give here, first of all, all the relevant facts, and on the basis of these alone we shall deduce conclusions consistent with logic and reason.

All agree<sup>(17)</sup> that Zaynab was the daughter of Umaymah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Umaymah being the aunt of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), Zaynab was his *first cousin*. She was born, roughly speaking, at a time when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was already 20 years of age<sup>(18)</sup>. That Muḥammad (A.S.T.) had seen the young babe crawling, watched the girl Zaynab playing and freely observed the grown-up Zaynab innumerable times will have to be conceded even by hostile critics. The system of female seclusion and veil, introduced by the 'Abbasids of Baghdad, was unknown in Makkah of those days. Besides, at whose hands did Zaynab embrace the faith? After the Hijrah she was under the protection of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in Madinah. Thus Muḥammad (A.S.T.) again saw her between the ages of 34 and 37. So obvious were these facts that Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Kathīr, the commentators and the traditionists and Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām) and Ṭabarī, the historians did not deem it necessary to record that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) had been seeing Zaynab at close quarters

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16. *Tafsīr al-Fātaḥa wal-Mushkilāt al-Qur'ān*, Ch. *Tauḍīḥ Mas'alah Zayd wa Zaynab*, (Cairo, 1330 A.H.).

17. *Mufasssīrīn, Muḥaddithīn, Sīra and Maghāzī* writers, the Islamists, Ṭabarī, Amir 'Alī (*Spirit of Islam*) and Martin Lings, *Muhammad*.

18. *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyah*, III, 347, (Cairo, 1308 A.H.) wherein the author says tht Zaynab died in 20 A.H. at the age of 53.

for the last 38 years before the alleged 'love at first sight'. This basic fact, of course, has not been mentioned by the Islamists either, not because they did not have access to the original Arabic sources, but because it did not fit into their accusations<sup>(19)</sup>. If they were to acknowledge this fact, the suggestion of 'the love at first sight' would have seemed ridiculous and preposterous. The conclusion is inescapable that they are guilty of wilful suppression of facts.

As regards the beauty of Zaynab, which is alleged to be the prime factor in the 'machinations of Muḥammad<sup>(20)</sup>', it is linked with the point already stressed. If her physical charms were to play any part in her marriage with Muḥammad (A.S.T.), he had had many opportunities in the past to have her without any difficulty whatsoever. On the contrary, Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Kathīr, Muslim, Rāzī, Ṭabarī and Ḥalabī<sup>(21)</sup> leave no doubt that it was Muḥammad (A.S.T.) himself who suggested this marriage between Zaynab and Zayd. Ibn Sa'd, although a disciple and copyist of al-Wāqidī, declares that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) forced this marriage on her<sup>(22)</sup>. Initially she herself and her brother did not agree<sup>(23)</sup>. Before her

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19. 'Ayy kardan rā ham hunar bāyad (a Persian proverb).

20. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, III, 76.

21. a. *Fath al-Bārī* (*Sharah* Bukhārī), II, 440, (Misr, 1909).  
 b. *al-Tafsīr, sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, IV, 145, (Cairo, 1932).  
 c. *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb al-Nikāḥ*, (Misr, 1327/1902).  
 d. *Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, commentary on *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, VI, 785, (Darul Taba'at al-'Amira (n.d.)  
 e. i. *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, Vol. I, under events of 4 A.H. (Cairo, 1358/1939).  
 ii. *Tafsīr, Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, XXII, 10-11, (Cairo, 1328).  
 f. *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyah*, III, 346, *op. cit.*,

22. *Ṭabaqāt*, Biographien, Band VIII, 71, (Leiden, 1905).

23. *Ibid.*

marriage to Zayd she was under the *Kifālah* (protection) of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) in Madinah<sup>(24)</sup>: The Qur'anic Verse 33:36, claimed to be relevant in this connection, makes it binding upon Zaynab to agree to Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) proposal that she should marry Zayd<sup>(25)</sup>:

وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا لِمُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ

There remains, thus, no choice but to agree to what Allah and His Rasūl (A.S.T.) decide<sup>(26)</sup>. Now a crucial question arises: Why could not have Muḥammad (A.S.T.) married his cousin earlier instead of giving her in marriage to his manumitted slave? A young virgin — she must have attained puberty when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was about 32 years of age and not as yet *nabī/rasūl* — is definitely better than a divorced woman of 38 years of age! How illogical is the 'analytical' approach of the Islamists!

As a natural corollary to the above, the next question arises as to why within a year and half of marriage Zayd dissolved the marriage — tie? The majority of the original authorities are silent on this point. They merely mention the fact. Generally speaking, Zaynab has been blamed for her fiery temper. Only Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Kathīr give reasons. Ibn Ḥajar mentions that Zayd complained to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) about Zaynab in the following words<sup>(27)</sup>:

جاء زَيْدُ بْنُ حَارِثَةَ فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنَّ زَيْنَبَ إِشْتَدَّ عَلَى لِسَانِهَا  
وَإِنَّا أُرِيدَانَّ أَطْلَقَهَا

24. Cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, I, 362.

25. Al-Qur'ān, 33:36.

26. Cf. *Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, Rāzī, *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*.

27. *Op. cit.*, Zayd came (to the Rasūl) and said: O Rasūl of Allah Zaynab is of fiery tongue and I intend to divorce her.



Ibn Kathīr mentions that differences grew between the couple and they could not pull on together, and that this resulted in divorce<sup>(28)</sup>. To conclude, as all the later historians do, that the sole reason was the bad temper of the lady of noble birth and her dislike of the freedman is not fully convincing to the author of the present article. In his opinion there is a much more weighty reason. Zayd may also be held responsible for the dissolution of the marriage – tie.

Ibn Hajar says that when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) proposed her marriage to Zayd, she disliked it ( *فكرمت ذلك* ). Nevertheless, it is admitted by all that she did marry Zayd on the recommendation of the Rasūl (A.S.T.). As she willingly agreed, there remains very little force in the argument of 'dislike'. On the other hand, it is not commonly known that Zayd b. Ḥārithah married five times in all and all the women were divorced by him one after the other<sup>(29)</sup>. Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Hajar and Ibn Athīr<sup>(30)</sup> give the following five names: Dorra bint-abī-Lahab, Hind bint al-'Awwām, Barka Omm Ayman, Zaynab bint Jahsh and, lastly Omm Kulthūm bint 'Oqbah. The order differs with the historians. In one Omm Kulthūm is the first wife, while in others Omm Ayman has been mentioned as the first. *Isābah* and *Usd al-Ghābah*<sup>(31)</sup> agree

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28. *Op. cit.*, (fn. 21 b)

29. *Ta'arūfāt*, *op. cit.*, III, Part 1, 30.

30. a. *Ibid.*, V, 80.

b. "*Isābah fī Ma'rifa al-Sahābah*," (Cairo, 1325 A.H.) under Zayd.

c. *Usd al-Ghābah*, Ibn Athīr, (Cairo, 1285-7 A.H.) under Zayd b. Ḥārithah, II, 236. Cf. Tor-Andrac, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

31. *Op. cit.*, under the description of Zayd.

on Omm Ayman being the first. Omm Ayman bore Usāma to Zayd. At the time of the death of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) of Allah Usāma was 18 years old. This means that Omm Ayman was married by the Rasūl to Zayd b. Hārithah about eight years before Hijrah. It was after Hudaibiyah (7 a.h.) that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) gave away in marriage Omm Kulthūm to Zayd. According to Ibn Kathīr the woman and her brothers wanted the Rasūl (A.S.T.) to marry her himself. Most probably she was his last wife, because Zayd received martyrdom in 8 A.H. in the Battle of Mu'tah. She was divorced in 8 A.H. It follows that in 15 years Zayd contracted at least five marriages and divorced five times. This fact throws some light on the problem. Ibn Kathīr says that in Verse 33:37 wherein reference has been made to Zaynab's divorce by Zayd, the wordings signify that when Zayd was satisfied with her, he divorced her<sup>(32)</sup>. The actual wordings are:

فَلَمَّا قَضَىٰ زَيْدٌ مِّنْهَا وَطَرًا

This is how Mufti Shafī' has translated (in Urdu) the above Verse:

“And when Zayd completed his desire with that woman (he divorced her)”<sup>(33)</sup>.

In Arabic the term *قَضَىٰ وَطَرًا* means: he has attained his aim; he has obtained what he wanted. If the Qur'anic sentence is to be read without *مِنْهَا* one might have concluded that it referred to the intention of Zayd to divorce her because of “*ishtadda 'alā Lisāniha*,” but the sentence read with ‘*minhā*’ implies contractual responsibility on his part. It may appear that Zayd divorced Zaynab because of inconstancy, otherwise Dorra bint abī-Lahab was of the same high birth as

32. *Usd al-Ghāba*, Ibn Aṭhīr, (Cairo, 1285-7 A.H.,) under Zayd b. Hārithah, II, 236. Cf. Tor-Andrac, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

33. *Al-Ahzāb*, Verse 37; (*Ma'arifu'l-Qur'an*), VII, 145.

Zaynab. Dorra is not reported to have disliked Zayd because of his being a freedman. These two instances may indicate that Zayd himself was responsible for the dissolution of the marriage-tie, otherwise the Rasūl (A.S.T.) would not have told him: "Do not destroy your marriage life; be afraid of Allah"<sup>(34)</sup>. The Verse 37 of *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* is consistent with this advice of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). The Rasūl (A.S.T.) remonstrated with Zayd, but in vain. He gave in, seeing that Zayd was adamant.

Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Kathīr and Ḥalabī<sup>(35)</sup> state that after the divorce and 'Iddat (the waiting-period as required in Islam) the Rasūl (A.S.T.) sent the proposal of marriage to Zaynab through no other person than Zayd himself. The Rasūl (A.S.T.) would not have adopted this procedure nor Zayd would have agreed to act as an intermediary if Zayd himself had not taken the initiative in the matter of divorce.

It was in 20 A.H., during the *Khilāfah* of 'Umar, that Zaynab died. It is stated that Usāma b. Zayd lowered her body in the grave for eternal rest<sup>(36)</sup>. If there had been anything irregular or unseemly in the affairs of divorce and remarriage, Usāma would have declined the *sa'ādah* of lowering the corpse of his step-mother.

Zayd's unshakeable faith in Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) *Ḥusn al Mu'āmalah* is attested to by the uniformly cordial relations

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34. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 314, Ed. Krehl, (Leyden, 1908); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb al-Nikāḥ*; Ibn Hajar and Ibn Kathīr, both *op. cit.*

35. Bukhārī, *Ibid.*; Muslim, *Ibid.*; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, VII, 284-85, (Cairo, 1101 A.H.); and *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*, IV, 145; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyah*, III, 346, respectively.

36. Ibn Hajar, *Iṣṣabah*, III (under Zaynab bint Jaḥsh), (Misr, 1907).

between them over a period of more than 30 years. Allah and Muḥammad (A.S.T.) both favoured Zayd<sup>(37)</sup>. "I have seen such a nobility of character in this person (pointing at Muḥammad (A.S.T.))", said Zayd to his father and uncle, when both came to Makkah from Syria to buy his freedom and take him back to their country, "that I will never prefer anybody to him"<sup>(38)</sup>. The Rasūl (A.S.T.) once said, "He (Zayd) was one of the dearest of all men to me and this man (pointing at Usāma) is one of the dearest of all men to me: after him (Zayd being dead by that time)"<sup>(39)</sup>. Love, affection, understanding, regard and faith between Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and Zayd b. Ḥārithah *never* declined in the least. Had there been any doubt in the mind of Zayd about the affair of divorce and remarriage, he would not have remained to the end a devoted follower of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). On the authority of 'Ā'ishāh, Ibn Kathīr reported that had Zayd survived the Rasūl (A.S.T.), he might have become his successor<sup>(40)</sup> (as Khalīfah).

Again, it is preposterous to suggest that after her divorce Zaynab schemed for her marriage with Muḥammad (A.S.T.)<sup>(41)</sup>. In Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Ḥanbal and above all, even in Ibn Sa'd it is stated that when Zayd delivered the

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37. Al-Qur'an, 33: 37 (Allah through Islam and the Rasūl through manumission, affection and adoption).

38. *Ṭabaqāt*, *op. cit.*, III, part. I, 28; *Uṣd al-Ghāba* II, 235 (under 'Zayd').

39. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *op. cit.*, II, 440 and III, 133, 192, Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat*, Guillaume, 999, (Oxford, 1955).

40. *Tafsīr*, *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*; also cf. *Uṣd al-Ghāba* under 'Zayd'.

41. As Watt suggests, *op. cit.*, 331; Cf. Amir Ali, *infra* p. 147,

marriage proposal on behalf of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to her, this modest lady told him:<sup>(42)</sup>

قالت ما أنا بصانعة حتى أوامر ربي

After giving this reply she stood up on her prayer carpet:

فقامت إلى مسجد

(43). As Muslim continues, this deliberation on her part was for *Istikhāra*<sup>(44)</sup>. It may be asked, where was the necessity of this *ṭalab al-Khair* on her part if she was herself 'clearly working for the marriage'?

Ibn Sa'd, Ḥalabī and Vacca<sup>(45)</sup> place the death of Zaynab in 20 A.H. at the age of 53. It means that at the time of her marriage with Muḥammad (A.S.T.) she was 38 years of age and not 35, as is commonly supposed. Some of the historians say that she was already a widow when married to Zayd<sup>(45-a)</sup>. To Muḥammad (A.S.T.), who was not less than 57 at the time, Zaynab was his eighth wife. Under the circumstances, it is preposterous even to think of any 'untoward' behaviour on his/her part<sup>(46)</sup>.

42. Bukhārī and Muslim, *op. cit.*, *Musnad*, *Bāb al-Nikāh*, (Misr, 1313/1895); *Ṭabaqāt*, III, part I, 30; also cf. *Sunan*, al-Nasāī, II, 75, (Delhi, 1895). The translation would be: 'I am not to take any decision unless I have invoked the blessings of my Lord,' – literally – unless I know the will of my Lord. For further explanation see fn. 44, *infra*.

43. *Ibid*.

44. From the Arabic root: *استخر* *خبر* means 'to ask a thing good.' Hence *استخارة* is adopted for *Ṭalab al-Khair* from Allah and not for *ʿIlm al-Ghaib* (knowledge of unseen).

45. *Ṭabaqāt op. cit.*, VIII, 81; *Sīrat, op. cit.*, III, 347; *Ency. of Islam, op. cit.*

45-a. Cf. Watt, *op. cit.*, 329.

46. Cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 299: "In seinem Alter aber zeichnete er sich durch jnersättlichen Hang zur Wollust aus". I do not possess the courage to translate.

Muhammad (A.S.T.) made strenuous efforts to persuade Zayd to keep the marriage-tie intact, but was unsuccessful<sup>(47)</sup>. Since the marriage, insisted and arranged by Muhammad (A.S.T.) himself, proved short-lived, was he not *morally* bound to undo the wrong done to poor Zaynab? Neither political nor any other kind of motive is involved here except the humanitarian one, I maintain. Moreover, Muhammad (A.S.T.) took Zaynab as his wife on the basis of the Qur'an: *zawwajnākahā* (We gave her to thee as a wife). Strange as it may appear to the Islamists, Ibn Athīr<sup>(48)</sup>, says that upto the revelation of the *āyat* in question, of which the whole translation is given below<sup>(49)</sup>, Zayd was being still addressed as 'Zayd bin Muhammad':

وَأِذْ تَقُولُ  
لِلَّذِي أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَأَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِ أَمْسِكْ عَلَيْكَ  
زَوْجَكَ وَاتَّقِ اللَّهَ وَتُخْفِي فِي نَفْسِكَ مَا اللَّهُ مُبْدِيهِ  
وَتَخْشَى النَّاسَ وَاللَّهُ أَحَقُّ أَنْ تَخْشَاهُ ۖ فَلَمَّا قَضَىٰ  
زَيْدٌ مِنْهَا وَطَرًا زَوَّجْنَاهَا لَكَ لَا يَكُونَ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ  
حَرَجٌ فِي أَزْوَاجِ أَدْعِيَائِهِمْ إِذَا قَضَوْا مِنْهُنَّ وَطَرًا ۖ  
وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ مَفْعُولًا ۝

Moreover, the Qur'an had emphatically declared against

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47. *Tafsīr*, Ibn Katīr, *op. cit.*, while discussing *Sūrah* 33:37.

48. *Usd al-Ġhāba*, *op. cit.*

49. The whole verse runs: And when you said to him to whom Allah had shown favour and to whom you had shown a favour: Keep your wife to yourself and be afraid of Allah; and you concealed in your soul what Allah would bring to light, and you feared men, and Allah had a greater right that you should fear Him. But when Zayd had accomplished his want for her, We gave her to you as a wife, so that there should be no difficulty for the believers in respect of the wives of their adopted sons, when they have accomplished their want of them; and Allah's command shall be performed (33:37).

an adopted son being regarded as a real son: 33:4, “. . . nor has He made those whom you assert to be your real sons; these are the words of your mouths; and Allah speaks the truth and He guides to the way”. And now here was an opportunity whereby the Rasūl (A.S.T.) could by his own example deal a death-blow to that custom. This reason is plainly given in the second part of the Verse 37 <sup>(50)</sup> :

رَوَّجْنَهَا لَكِنَّ لَا يَكُونُ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

حَرْجٌ فِي أَرْوَاحِ أَدْعِيَاءِهِمْ

In *sūrah* IV, revealed in 4 a.h., among the various female relations forbidden to be taken in marriage restriction was also applicable on “the wives of your sons who (spring) from your own loins” (Verse 23), thereby, clearly excluding the divorced wives of the adopted sons from such prohibition. This Verse was revealed four years in advance of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) marrying the divorced wife of his adopted son. In Arab society of those days, according to Ibn Kathīr, there were considerable number of such adopted sons. The performance of an act, decreed by Allah, was, thus, necessary and inevitable. Let us listen as to what Imām Rāzī has to say: <sup>(51)</sup>

Rāzī in his *Tafsīr* on this Verse of Aḥzāb, dealing with the Rasūl’s (A.S.T.) marriage with Zaynab, remarks: <sup>(52)</sup>

لم يكن بقضاً شهوة النبي عليه السلام بل لبيان الشريعة

فإنَّ الشرع يستفاد من فعل النبي وقوله عليه السلام

“This (re-marriage) was not because of sensual lust of the Nabī (A.S.T.) but to demonstrate the (working of) the

50. *Tafsīr* Ibn Kathīr.

51. Al-Qur’an, 33:37.

52. *Tafsīru ‘l-Kabīr*, XXV, 212, (Shirkat Sahafi Navin Beirut n.d.).

*Shari'ah* through his *sunnah* because *al-Shara'* is applicable (only) on the basis of actions and sayings of the Nabī (A.S.T.) (possibility of marrying the divorced wife of the adopted son)".

In view of Rāzī's clear argument there remains hardly any necessity to emphasize that if the *Jāhiliyyah* custom was to be abolished, who must have been the first Muslim to act according to the *Shari'ah*? Of course, no one else than the person who established it, the *Shari'* himself<sup>(53)</sup>, to demonstrate that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) "had broken with old taboos"<sup>(54)</sup>.

The relevant question is: who gave currency to the false and malicious story that when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) saw Zaynab in disarray he fell in love with her? Of course not the so-called Islamists. Their brushes painting Islam in lurid colours are sometimes dipped in pigment supplied by us. The Orientalists are indeed indebted to no one else than al-Wāqidī (777-845). Wāqidī was the first writer who narrated this story, a fancy which was accepted as fact through credulity or malice. He was born more than ten years after the death of Ibn Ishāq, so far regarded as the earliest *Sīrah* writer, and was a contemporary of the famous Bukhārī. The first as the earliest *Sīrah* writer<sup>(55)</sup> and the other as the most trustworthy authority on *Ḥadīth* tower above al-Wāqidī. Is it not then of the utmost significance that neither of them has mentioned this incident in the wordings of al-Wāqidī?

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53. The Qur'anic Verses spread over a period of 23 years. The exact placement of each cannot be everybody's conjecture.

54. Watt, *op. cit.*, 288; the same act on the part of a person cannot, at the same time, denounce or support a particular norm of a society. Cf. f n. 11, *supra*.

55. Ibn Hishām's *Sīrat Rasūl Allah* is a reproduction of Ibn Ishāq's partially lost book of the same name.



It is astonishing and unfortunate that while dealing with this false story an Islamist of the calibre of Montgomery Watt should have quoted Ibn Hishām – and thereby Ibn Ishāq – as his authority<sup>(56)</sup>, while in the Arabic text itself Ibn Hishām has not said a word about this scandal. As will be clear presently, it is a fabrication of the brain of al-Wāqidī alone.

The first to follow, or, rather, to reproduce him was his own associate. Hence the fabricated story is narrated for the first time by Ibn Sa'd, the *Kātib* (scribe) of al-Wāqidī, in his *Ṭabaqāt*. And Ibn Sa'd, whose works are mere extracts from the writings of his master, must be considered as a second-hand writer whose story would hardly have been credited if his master's works had not perished<sup>(57)</sup>. Ṭabarī (d. 923) was not in the habit of expressing any opinion on the events he recorded<sup>(58)</sup>. Ibn Athīr's *al-Kāmil* is almost an abridgement of Ṭabarī's *Annals*, hence it does not reveal anything new. Thus only Wāqidī and Ṭabarī (ibn Jarīr) remain in the field.

Muḥammad al-Wāqidī was a famous story-teller at the *Shi'ī* court of Barmakids (786-803) and it is said that he was a past master in concocting fictitious stories. His *Futūḥu 'sh-Shām* is a glaring example. He was skilful in weaving imaginative material, fiction and tales into his – story. He had no scruples in sacrificing historical truth if thereby he could impart vividness and continuity to his narrative. A few historical facts and characters serve to give an air of verisimilitude to a purely fictitious tale. But the misfortune is that al-Wāqidī has been given a place among the historians. The Islamists

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56. *Op. cit.*, p. 330, f n. I, referring to Ibn Hishām's page as '1002'!

57. Von Kremer; *Preface to Wāqidī's Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, (Calcutta, 1856). Also compare Horowitz, Vorwort, p. VII, Ibn Sa'd, Biographien, Band II, Teil I.

58. *Annales op. cit.*, I, 6-7 (Leiden, 1881-82).

for some reason, which is not clear, assign to this story-teller a place among the historians.

Who are we to sit in judgement upon al-Wāqidī? The compilers of *Ḥadīth* and its critics, mainly concerned with the credibility and reliability of a narrator, have turned their critical gaze upon the writings of al-Wāqidī. Their devastating criticism reveals him as quite untrustworthy and unreliable.

Thus it is no wonder that sixteen topmost authorities from early Islam (*A'imma Salaf*), the Traditionists and *Ḥadīth*-critics (*al-Jurḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*), can be quoted here to expose Wāqidī's shortcomings as a historian, namely: Bukhārī, Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Ḥanbal, Shāfi'ī, Al-Baihaqī, Ibn Ḥajar, Dārquṭnī, al-Nasā'ī, al-Dhahabī, Abū Ḥātam, Haitham, Abū 'Āsim, al-Ḥākim, Ibn Mo'īn, Abū Zar'a and Suyūṭī. The opprobrious words which they have hurled at this story-teller are: untrustworthy (*Ḡhair Thiqah*), weak (*Da'īf*), liar (*Kādhīb*), fabricator (*Waḍa'*), discarded (*Matrūk*), not reliable (*Laisa bi al-Qawī*) the leader of the ignorants (*Shu'ūkh al-Majhūlīn*) and notorious liar (*Kādhīb al-Ma'rūf*). To illustrate Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalanī<sup>(59)</sup>: قال الشافعي فيما استنده البيمى كتب الواقدي كلها كاذب

Elsewhere the same author remarks<sup>(59-a)</sup>: "There were several fabricators of ('chain of narrators') in Madinah (and) one of them was al-Wāqidī": كان بالدينه سبع رجال يمتعون الاسانيد احدهم الواقدي

About 'Abd Allah b. 'Āmir al-Aslamī Abū 'Āmir al-Madanī, the last but one in the chain of narrators, al-Wāqidī being the last, upon whom Ibn Sa'd has relied, the same author further remarks: ". . . Ahmad (Ibn-Ḥanbal), Abū Zar'a, Abū 'Āsim

59. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IX, 366, No. 604 (Da'iratul Ma'arif, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1326 A.H.).

59-a. *Ibid.*, p. 367.

and al-Nasā'ī regard him weak (*Da'if*); . . . Abū Hātam regards him as the rejected one; . . . similar are the opinions of Abu Dā'ūd and Dāruqūnī; . . . Aḥmad al-Ḥākim discards him as unreliable; . . . same opinion is of Bukhārī. . . .”<sup>(60)</sup>. About Wāqidī, al-Dhahabī has to say this<sup>(61)</sup>:

وهومن اوعية العلم لكنه لا يتقن الحديث

At another place in his unsurpassable and critical book the same author quoting from earlier authorities remarks about al-Wāqidī<sup>(62)</sup>: *قال احمد بن حنبل هو كذاب يقرب*

*الاحاديث . . . وقال ابن معين ليس بثقة . . . وقال النسائي يضع الحديث*

Another analytical author quoting two more authorities gives the following verdict on Wāqidī<sup>(63)</sup>: *فقال هشيم لم يكن كذاباً فما في الدنيا*

*مثله . . . فقال الشافعي كتب الماتدي كذب . . . شيوخ المجهولين*

The famous al-Nasā'ī pronounces al-Wāqidī as weak (*Da'if*)<sup>(64)</sup>, while Nawāwī calls al-Wāqidī “an author undeserving of faith”<sup>(65)</sup>. It will suffice to quote one more authority on Wāqidī<sup>(66)</sup>:

*قال النسائي الكذابون معروفون بوضع الحديث اربعة ابن ابي يحيى بالمدينة والماتدي ببغداد ومقاتل بن سليمان بخراسان ومحمد بن سعيد المصلي بالشام*

Thus it is conclusively proved that the writings, particula-

60. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, .op. cit., V, p. 275, No. 471.

61. *Tadhkiratu 'l-Huffāz*, I, 318, (Hyderabad, (Deccan, 1333 A.H.): Though receptive in knowledge but unreliable in *ḥadīth*.

62. *Kitāb Mīzān al-I'tidāl fī Naqd-al Rijāl* III, 110, No. 979, (Misr, 1325 A.H.) Aḥmed b. Ḥanbal said: he was a liar and fabricated *al-ḥadīth*; Ibn Mo'īn regarded him untrustworthy; to Nasā'ī he was fabricator of *Ḥadīth*.

63. *Kitāb al-Jurḥ wa't Ta'dīl*, Ibn Abī Hātam al-Rāzī, Qism I, Vol. IV, pp. 20-21; No. 92; (Da'iratul Ma'arif, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1372/1953). To Haiṭham there was no liar in the world like him; to al-Shāfi'ī his writings are (total) lie . . . . leader of the ignofants.

64. *Sunan, Bāb al-Nikāh*, (Delhi, 1898).

65. *Tahdhīb*, p. 7, ed. Wüstenfeld.

66. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, op. cit., IX, 366. Ibn Hajar reproducing al-Nasā'ī: “notorious liars in fabricating *al-Ḥadīth* are four: Ibn 'abī Yāḥyā at al-Madīnah, al-Wāqidī at-Baghdad, Maqātil b. Sulaymān in Khurāsān and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd hanged in Syria”.

ly *ḥadīth* literature of Muḥammad al-Wāqidī (and, thereby, of his *Kātib*, Ibn Sa'd!) have been denounced<sup>(67)</sup> by all competent authorities.

Then where was the necessity for this *kidhb* of attributing the utterance (saying, *ḥadīth*) of *muṣarrifūl qulūb* to the Rasūl (A.S.T.) on the part of Wāqidī? Apart from the habit of story-telling, two considerations appear to have influenced this *Kadhib*.

Al-Wāqidī flourished during the days of al-Barmakah, Hārūn; al-Rashīd and Māmun. al-Rashīd<sup>(68)</sup>. The present writer refrains from commenting on the character of these personalities but original Arabic sources are abundantly clear on the point<sup>(69)</sup>. To lend support to their lives of pleasure, to justify their ways, to extenuate their wrongdoings, a *Sunnah*, a *Ḥadīth* would have been of invaluable help. Hence Wāqidī's fabrications about Muḥammad (A.S.T.)<sup>(70)</sup>. There is another reason, perhaps much more weighty than the first:

"And it came to pass at eventide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and from the roof he saw a woman bathing; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon. And David sent and inquired after the woman. And one said: Is not this Bath-Sheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite? And David sent messengers, and took her; and she came unto him, and he lay with her; and she returned into her house. And the

67. لا ينبغي التشاغل بها. (Ibn Hajar).

68. It may be pointed out here that in his *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* Wāqidī does not mention the arrest of 'Abbas, so far the non-Muslim uncle of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), and of 'Aqīl b. abī Tālib at the Battle of Badr along with other prisoners of war. Why? Because they belonged to Banū Hāshim, the dynasty Wāqidī was serving.

69. Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 207; 120 (Cairo, 1301); Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, III, 669, 950; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 47, (Cairo, 1303/1885).

70. Wāqidī was a manumitted slave of Banū Hāshim (the Abbasids). Cf. von Kremer, *op. cit.*, *Preface*, p. 4.

woman conceived; and she sent and told David, and said, 'I am with child'. And David sent to Jacob<sup>(71)</sup>, saying send me Uriah the Hittite. And when Uriah came unto him . . . David said to Uriah, go down to thine house and wash thy feet. And Uriah departed out of the king's house and there followed him a mess of meat from the king. But Uriah slept at the door of the king's house with all the servants of his lord, and went not down his house . . . And Uriah said unto David, the Ark and Israel and Judah abide in booths; and my lord Jacob, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open field; shall I then go into my house, to eat and to drink and to lie with my wife? as thou livest and thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing . . . And David said to Uriah: tarry here today also and tomorrow I will let thee depart . . . And he made him drunk; and at night Uriah went out to lie on his bed with the servants of the lord, but he went not down to his house. And it came to pass in the morning that David wrote a letter to Jacob, and sent it by the hand of Uriah. And he wrote in the letter, saying: Set ye Uriah in the forefront of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten, and die. And it came to pass, when Jacob kept watch upon the city, that he assigned Uriah unto the place where he knew that valiant men were . . . And there fell some of the people . . . And Uriah the Hittite died also. Then Jacob sent and . . . charged the messenger to David . . . And the messenger said unto David . . . and thy servant Uriah the Hittite is dead also . . . And when the wife of Uriah heard that Uriah her husband was dead, she made lamentation for her husband. And when the mourning was passed David sent and took her home to his house, and she became his wife and bore him a

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71. The commander of David's army sent for the destruction of the children of Ammon and for the siege of Rabbah.

son. But the thing David had done displeased the Lord''<sup>(72)</sup>.

Such is the verdict of the Old Testament against the Servant of the Lord. Although al-Qur'an has clearly proclaimed David's wisdom, exalted position, righteousness, duty towards Allah and clear judgement<sup>(73)</sup>, *this was not sufficient for Wāqidī*. Hundred and thousand instances can be multiplied wherein Jewish, Biblical, Buddhistic and Persian folklores and stories were incorporated in Islamic literature during the Abbasid regime and were given an Islamic stamp. When such apocryphal tales were to be found in the religious book of the Jews about their prophet<sup>(74)</sup>, and were never discarded or denounced by them, where was the harm if some such was also concocted and introduced in relation to Muḥammad (A.S.T.)? If the Jews are proud of it, followers of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) must not also object to it; nay, they should even appreciate it: Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is being brought in line with David. Muslims must ever remain thankful to al-Wāqidī – such was the working of the mind of this *Kādhīb* on whom ibn Sa'd depended.

On the basis of true critical evidence we have established the following facts so far: Zaynab was the first cousin of Muḥammad (A.S.T.); she was among the earliest converts to Islam; she was among the first emigrants to Madinah; the Rasūl (A.S.T.) himself forced her hand on Zayd; before her

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72. The Old Testament, Vol. II, The Second Book of Samuel, Ch. XI, pp. 213-15, (The World's Classics, Oxford University Press, 1931).

Whether adultery and murder mar the greatness of David from the Jewish point of view, we are not concerned. From the Qur'anic point of view such an individual can never be the Servant of the Lord. Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) supposed indebtedness to Jewish stories can well be appreciated from this one example.

73. Al-Qur'an, 38: 17-20; 27: 15; 38: 24, 25.

74. They still wait for a Messiah to appear from his line and that of Bath-Sheba.

marriage to Zayd she was under the protection of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) at Madinah; and when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) finally married her she was 38 and he 57.

What was it then which prevented Muḥammad (A.S.T.) from acquiring Zaynab when she was still below 38 with all her 'physical charms' intact?

The Qur'anic verse وَتَخْفَى فِي نَفْسِكَ مَا اللَّهُ مُبْدِيهِ<sup>(75)</sup> has been unnecessarily interpreted by some to mean that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) tried to conceal his desire of marrying the charming divorced Zaynab. In the context of the Verse in question this appears to be a far-fetched conclusion. The Rasūl (A.S.T.) did not like that the disagreements between Zayd and Zaynab should become public. As he himself had arranged the marriage, he felt perturbed. Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) injunction to Zayd not to divorce Zaynab is contained in unmistakable terms: "Do not wreck your married life, be afraid of Allah<sup>(76)</sup>". Ibn Ḥajar<sup>(77)</sup> and Ibn Kathīr<sup>(78)</sup> do not agree with this wrong interpretation. On the face of it the Āyat (*wa t ukhfi fi nafsika*) was against the Rasūl (A.S.T.). On this easy presumption, Ibn Athīr<sup>(79)</sup>, says that if the Rasūl was ever tempted to conceal any revelation from Allah, this<sup>(80)</sup> would have been possibly one<sup>(81)</sup>. The existence of

75. 33:37, " . . . . And you conceal in your heart what Allah would bring to light . . . ."

76. *Supra*, p.132 Cf. al-Qur'an, ' keep thy wife to thyself and be afraid of Allah . . .', 33:37.

77. *Fath al-Bārī*, *op. cit.*, *Bāb al-Nikāh*.

78. *Tafsīr*, *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*.

79. *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, IV, 29, *op. cit.*,

80. The whole of the Verse, 33:37.

81. See *supra*, p. 137

the Verse is in itself the highest proof of the non-existence of any 'love at first sight'.

Regarding the fabricated story the actual wordings in Ṭabaqāt are<sup>(82)</sup>:  
 وَأَتَمَّا عَجَلَتْ زَيْنَبُ أَنْ تَلْبِسَ لَهَا قَيْلَ لَهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَى الْبَابِ فَوُثِّبَتْ عَجَلِي فَأَعْجَبَتْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَوَلَّى وَهُوَ يَهْمُهُمْ بِشَيْءٍ لَا يَكَادُ يُفْهَمُ مِنْهُ إِلَّا رَبَّمَا أَعْلَنَ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ  
 سُبْحَانَ مَصْرُوفِ الْقُلُوبِ

There is no difference between the wordings of Ibn Sa'd and in Ṭabari's Annals<sup>(83)</sup>. However, in his commentary of the Qur'an, the latter author says<sup>(84)</sup>:

فَرَفَعَتِ الرِّيحُ السِّتْرَ فَانْكَشَفَ ، وَهِيَ فِي حَجَرِهَا حَاسِرَةٌ ، فَوَقَعَ لِعَجَابِهَا  
 فِي قَلْبِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، فَلَمَّا وَقَعَ ذَلِكَ كَرِهَتْ إِلَى الْآخِرِ

The wordings of the same author in his two different books differ. *Hāsir* can be used in two senses: either regretful or without helmet or turban. In the latter sense it can be used in the case of females when either their hands or head is uncovered – and *never* the body in disarray. If we take the first sense, i.e., regretful, it carries no sense, because such facial expressions could not be seen from a distance – Muḥammad (A.S.T.) standing outside in the light and looking inside through half-opened door in comparative darkness. Moreover, this meaning does not fit in the context of the story originated by Wāqidī and Ṭabarī. To conclude that Zaynab was regretful because of estranged relations with her husband is unwarranted. The words *fa waqa'a i'jābuhā* indicate that there was no admiration on the part of Rasūl (A.S.T.) after seeing Zaynab but he was rather astonished. In his *Tafsīr* Ṭabarī also admits that on an enquiry from the Rasūl (A.S.T.) about the behaviour of Zaynab and her dealings, Zayd replied "I have seen in Zaynab nothing but goodness (*walā rāyatō illā*

82. *Op. cit.*, VIII, 71-72.

83. II, 236, *op. cit.*, he is only reproducing Ṭabaqāt.

84. *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, XXII, 13; (Cairo, 1328 A.H.), while dealing with the Verse 33:37.



*khairah*). This categorical statement of the person who is about to divorce his wife is sufficient to refute the charges of the Islamists regarding the 'workings of Zaynab' for her marriage with Muḥammad (A.S.T.), or *vice versa*.

It could be, then, the face of Zaynab, if at all, and not her body, which could have attracted Muḥammad (A.S.T.). And as regards the face, that very face which he had been observing for the last 38 years at close quarters! In another version of the same story Ṭabarī has assigned to the face of Zaynab the main role in this affair<sup>(85)</sup>. Ibn Athīr, in dealing with the condition of Zaynab at the time of Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) visit to the house, has also used the words: *دمى ماسى* (86). But his version being only an abridgement of Ṭabarī we need not to discuss it here. To conclude on the basis of Ṭabarī, that she being regretful because of her relations with Zayd, and the Rasūl (A.S.T.) seeing her in this condition, the latter remarked that Allah might change the heart of Zayd, appears to be an unnecessary and uncalled for attempt to give credibility to a fabricated story. The fabrication of Wāqidi/Ṭabarī stands or falls as a whole and no amount of juggling with words can make any portion of the original version credible. Any attempt to do so will be futile.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Kathīr (vide fn. 92) was apprehensive not to incorporate incorrect *āthār* of Ṭabarī but the present writer craves the indulgence of the readers if he attempts to comment on the uncalled-for versions and wordings of our two modern Muslim authors on this divorce and re-marriage issue. It has already been pointed out that the orientalisists brush their paintings on Islam in fake colours dipped in pigments supplied by us.

This is what Syed Amir Ali, a *Shī'ah* writer said about this episode 64 years ago

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85. *Annales* ... in this case the narrator is one Zayd; II, 237.

86. *Kāmil*, *op. cit.*, II, 84; (Cairo, 1301 A.H.).

"The words uttered in natural admiration were often repeated by Zainab to her husband to show how even the Prophet praised her beauty, and naturally added to his displeasure"<sup>(87)</sup>. It could be on this basis that the orientalist felt free to suppress the fact that during her earlier span of 38 years of life Muḥammad (A.S.T.) being her first cousin, was freely observing Zaynab.

When after divorce Muḥammad (A.S.T.) sent the marriage proposal through Zayd this modest lady replied: "I am not to take any decision unless I have invoked the blessings of my Lord", but, still, Amir Ali felt free to prejudge:

"After Zainab had *succeeded* in obtaining a divorce from Zaid, she *commenced importuning* Muḥammad to marry her . . . ." <sup>(88)</sup>.

This is how Martin Lings distempers the pigment: "Zaynab opened the door, and as she stood in the doorway telling him that Zayd was out but inviting him none the less to enter, a look passed between the two cousins which made each one conscious of a deep and lasting bond of love between them. In a moment the Prophet knew that Zaynab loved him and that he loved her and she knew he loved her"<sup>(89)</sup>.

She did not open the door, because she was informed (*qīla*) of his visit. Similarly, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) did not enter the *ḥujrah* of Zaynab.

If I pass disparaging remarks against Amir Ali Syed and (Abu Bakr Sirajuddin) Martin Lings their supporters, instead of acknowledging the incontrovertible evidences, sequence

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87. Amir Ali, Syed, *The Spirit of Islam* (London, 5th impression, 1949), pp. 235-36.

88. *Ibid*, p. 236, italics mine to show attempt at paraphrasing.

89. Martin Lings, *Muhammad - his life based on the earliest sources*, (London, 1983), pp. 212-13 - a *sunni* writer.

of events, facts of the case, and the irresponsible utterances on their part, they would say: "You see! Dr. Hashmi has the courage to accuse our two great modern *sīrah* writers!"

The readers need not be surprised that while colouring this incident neither of these two authors has supported his utterances with any authority whatsoever, as is usual in such cases. The opinions expressed, scenes depicted, sentences constructed, romance added and conclusions drawn are pigments of Amir Ali and Martin Lings alone.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was visiting Zayd and Zaynab as his son and daughter-in-law, respectively, because there were still about five months for the relevant Verse No. 37 to be revealed through which "... the strong social principle not to make a distinction between sons by birth and sons by adoption"<sup>(90)</sup> was to be abrogated. And yet Amir Ali and Abu Bakr Siraj-uddin dared to opine that the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law were falling in love.

It is not our responsibility to remind anybody about the fundamental ethical pronouncement of the *sirājam munīrah*:

(91) انما بعثت لاكمال الاخلاق

The book of (Abu Bakr Sirajuddin) Marin Lings was with me since 1983 and it was expected of me — as student of Islamic History — to point out his 'meditations' on *ḥubb* but I must admit my indebtedness to a retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka who drew my attention to this aspect.

Ibn Kathīr in his *tafsīr* of āyat 37, *sūrah* 33 ( واذ تقول للذي till the end) in an extremely disparaging remark

90. Lings p. 213. He is himself confessing that at the time of visit the relationship between Muḥammad and his first cousin was that of father-in-law and daughter-in-law.

91. "But then I was sent to perfect the noble traits of character", a famous *ḥadīth*.

against Ṭabari has to say: “. . . Ibn Jarīr has related many incorrect *āthār* (assertions) at this stage and we even abstain from narrating them because of their being improper and because none of them is proved and correct”<sup>(92)</sup>.

And what about Umm Ḥabībah bint -abī Sufyān?

She had been an emigrant to Abyssinia along with her husband ‘Ubayd Allah b. Jaḥsh. After his death there, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) sent the marriage proposal to her. King Negus stood proxy for him.

It was only after Muḥammad’s (A.S.T.) return from Khaybar expedition that he found her in Madinah, lately arrived.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.) had not seen her for the last fifteen years or so.

He did not know how many children she had had by 'how. He was not aware whether she was ugly or bulky. He had no idea whether her physical charms were still intact. He was totally in dark as to her health or sickness.

Having no vibrations of love impulses between the two continents, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was unable to utter the phrase: ‘*muṣarrifu 'l-qulūb*’ in her case.

Such an uncertain gamble!

To me they are exactly two parallel cases. With all force and conviction at my command I maintain that absolutely nothing was involved *except* the humanitarian. It was a simple question of dignified and healthy absorption of a divorcee and a widow in the society of the creation of

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92. *Tafsīr, Sūrah Aḥzāb, Āyat 37; op. cit.*

Muḥammad (A.S.T.), and, along with her the children.

If a divorcee or a widow is left unprotected what about her physical and pecuniary needs? This basic negligence is in no way less contributing factor towards the prevalent and ever-increasing venereal diseases, broken families and destitution among all the non-Muslim countries.

If the other societies do not care, at least I require the ever-binding *sunnah* of my *Shāri'* in this regard too as a model for dignified and healthy absorption of the divorcees and the widows in my society. Not only meaningful rehabilitation must for ever remain collective *wājib/fard* on Muslim *Ummah* but, at the same time, by so doing, their society must also survive chaste and healthy.

When at the age of 25 Muḥammad (A.S.T.) took *Khadijah* as his wife, who was a widow twice over, her son *Hārith* b. -abī *Hālah* became his *rabīb*. When after *Khadijah*'s death he married another widow *Sāwdah* bint *Zam'ah* as his second wife, her son 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. *Sakrān* b. 'Amr became his *rabīb*. When the husband of *Umm Salmah* received martyrdom at *Uhud* he took her as his wife and her daughter *Zaynab* bint-abī *Salmah* b. 'Abd al-*Asad* became his *rabībah*. *Ramlah* bint-abī *Sufyān* (better known as *Umm Ḥabībha*) being married to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in *Abyssinia* when she arrived in *Madinah* her daughter *Ḥabībah* from her first husband became Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) *rabībah*<sup>(93)</sup>:

*The enviable limitless blessings of the extended family,  
(as opposed to the unicellular)!*

*Rabīb/rabībah* is from the trilateral root *rabba* from which the noun *rabb* is derived and, hence Allah is called *Al-Rabb*, the Lone Sustainer.

Hence the clear *sunnah* of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) in respect of

93. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (Abī 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allah) al-Qurṭubī, *Kitāb al-Isti'āb fī Ma'ārifatu 'l-Ashāb* (Da'iratu 'l-Ma'arif, Deccan, 1336 H.), II, 716, No. 72 (under *Kitābu' n-Nisā'*).

the widows, the divorcees, the orphans, the needy is forthcoming.

Allah says:

“And whatever the Rasūl gives you, accept it, and whatever he forbids you, abstain (therefrom); and be afraid of Allah. Verily Allah is Severe in retribution” (59:7).

His chaste, pious, devoted, conscientious and Allah-fearing *ṣaḥābah* meticulously acted upon his *sunnah*.

What I am arriving at is that for the legitimate and chaste status of the widows and the divorcees and for the decent living of the needy and the orphans (as opposed to begging parasites) in the society of the creation and conception of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), I require, expect some such pristine *sunnah* of my *nabī/rasūl* (A.S.T.) which alone serves as practicable guidance for lasting solutions in both the fields.

If to such a simple *ḥaqīqah*, as pointed out by Imām Rāzī and Ibn Kathīr, our own Muslim writers cannot show appreciation, one should not expect better treatment from the non-Muslim writers.

It is therefore futile to hope that “a faithful history of the origin and early progress of Islam may be composed”<sup>(94)</sup> by the so-called Islamists. Seldom do they seem to the Muslims to evince scholarly detachment so necessary to command respect and admiration:

يَحْمَلُ الْمُحَاطَبُ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ

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94. Von Kremer, Preface to Wākidi's *Kitāb*, op. cit., P. 11.

## WARAQAH BIN NAWFAL – HIS RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOUR

“*Al-Fasād* has appeared in the land and the sea on account of that which men’s hands have wrought”<sup>(1)</sup>. At the time when there was desolation because of hereditary autocracy and ruination of populations and savage chaos among races and stocks, al-Qur’an depicted the ignorance, the mischief and the darkness prevailing over the entire ‘civilized’ world at the close of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th Century of the Christian era. The highest ennobling ideal of the absolute Unity of the Divine Being, which alone can sustain humanity in its search of *the Truth (al-Ḥaqq)* and in its acquiring righteous happiness, was, by now, disfigured, mutilated, corrupted and adulterated. Since Jesus being taken up (*rafa’a*) unto Allah, there was general expectation of the appearance of a new *nabī/rasūl* in the three continents at least (North-East Africa, South-West Asia and South-East Europe). The humanity was about to be saved from desolation and chaos<sup>(2)</sup>. Had the voice of the Lord spoken to Waraqah b. Nawfal too?

The personality of Waraqah b. Nawfal b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b. Quṣayy, first cousin of Khadījah, the first wife of the Rasūl (A.S.T.), has remained somewhat obscure and doubtful. By the Muslim Traditionists and *Sīrah* writers he

1. *Al-Qur’an*. xxx: 41.

2. *Ibid*, 3:103: “And you were upon the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it”.

has not been given any undue importance and has been described as one of the several contemporaries of the early days of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) who might be in search of truth but the Truth never dawned upon them, while to the so-called Islamists these contemporaries appear to have obtained certain light in search of the Truth and to have influenced the Rasūl (A.S.T.) in his Mission. These Islamists even go a step further and assert that Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was not only influenced by them but even learnt from them. Waraqah b. Nawfal is claimed to be one of them.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to show that the Truth never dawned upon Waraqah till he embraced Islam; that he was a disillusioned person; that he in no way influenced the Rasūl (A.S.T.); and that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) learnt nothing from him. We shall also see the depth of Waraqah's knowledge. Could it have been of any value to the Rasūl (A.S.T.)? In conclusion the approach of the Islamists to the problem will be examined.

About the birth, early life and such other details of Waraqah's career, which are irrelevant here, we will say nothing. We are to confine our remarks to the relevant portions alone.

To begin with, here is a detailed account based on the opinions of the Islamists of repute on Waraqah b. Nawfal.

Sprenger was perhaps the first historian of repute who made bold statements on the basis of his own conjectures<sup>(3)</sup>: "I believe that Waraqah earlier to the Prophethood of Muḥammad was still a *Ḥanīf* and one of those who believed that the spirit of God speaks through him. He believed in Muḥammad

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3. He was not in the habit of quoting authorities on controversial issues.



so long as he (Muḥammad) remained loyal to *Ḥanīf* religion but the deceits of Muḥammad and his denial of his earlier convictions in the year 616 made him to abjure *Ḥanīf* religion and to consider Muḥammad as an impostor. Not long afterwards when the Christians of the various sects came to Makkah, he became a member of the Orthodox Church of Jesus and died as a Christian”(4). He further refutes the theory that Waraqah told Muḥammad in advance of his mission(5). He also maintains that the biographers of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) and the Traditionists suffer him, out of necessity, to die an early death(6), because in the opinion of this German Islamist, “this defection (Waraqah’s abjuring Islam) of one of the earliest converts and one of the relatives of the Prophet was hardly edifying for the Muslims; they also tried very early to wipe away all the traces of *Ḥanīf* religion and thus it has happened that the history of Waraqah was distorted”(7) L. Caetani, in a sense, a successor as an Islamist to Sprenger, goes even a step further and regards Waraqah as “an independent religious thinker”(8). He was the first to suggest that “he influenced Muḥammad”(9). Muir says, “It will be seen that this person had an acknowledged share in satisfying the mind of Muḥammad that his mission was Divine”(10) and, “who saw in his teachings the counterpart of his own ideas(11). He further claims, “Muḥammad learnt about ‘our Saviour’s life

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4. Sprenger, *‘Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad’*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92. (Berlin, 1869).

5. *Ibid*, p. 126.

6. *Ibid*, pp. 125, 335.

7. *Ibid.*, I, p. 92.

8. Caetani, *Annali dell ‘Islam’*, (Milan, 1905), Vol. I, Intro., p. 156.

9. *Ibid*. p. 182.

10. Sir William Muir, *‘Life of Muhammad’*, (Edinburg, 1912) p. 36.

11. *Ibid*, p. 42 (Edinburg).

from Waraqah's translation of the Gospel<sup>(12)</sup>. Similar theory of influence is also suggested by Lammens. He claims that Waraqah influenced Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in his mission<sup>(13)</sup>. In her article in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. V. Vacca, a disciple of Caetani, writes that Waraqah "encouraged and possibly influenced Muḥammad in his first years of his mission". She also gives him the place of "an independent religious thinker"<sup>(14)</sup>. Margoliouth<sup>(15)</sup> and Montgomery Watt<sup>(16)</sup> repeat the same old story that Waraqah might have influenced Muḥammad (A.S.T.) considerably.

Now we shall have to examine as to what the original, and, for that matter, 'the only' authorities, such as the Traditionists and the biographers of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) have to say on the subject.

Waraqah b. Nawfal was one of those who in the days of pre-Islamic Arabia had denounced idolatry. He was in search of the religion of Abraham (*Dīn Ḥanīf*) and read the Scriptures. Later on he embraced Christianity and translated/copied some of the portions of the *Bible* for his personal use. At the time of the commencement of the Ministry of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), Waraqah was old and blind. After the first revela-

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12. Muir, p. 123 (Edinburg).

13. Lammens *Researches des Science des Religions*, (VIII of 1918), p. 18.

14. *Ency. Islam*, vol. IV, pp. 1121-1122, art, 'Warakah' (old edition).

15. Margoliouth, D.S., '*Muhammad and the Rise of Islam*', (London, 1905), pp. 42, 67 and 97.

16. Montgomery Watt, '*Muhammad at Medina*', (Oxford, 1956), p. 315.

tion to her husband, K̤hadijah reported the incident to her cousin Waraqah who recognised in the personality of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) the promised Rasūl. He died soon after<sup>(17)</sup>.

When the Western Islamists studied these facts in the works on the Traditions and *Sīrah*, they faced a very complicated problem. If they were to regard these *Sīrah* and *Ḥadīth* descriptions as 'not fabricated,' it would have amounted to the truth in Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) mission — a concession they may not make; and if they were to reject the story as a whole, this would have deprived poor Waraqah of the credit of being a 'religious thinker', 'seeker after truth' and 'benefactor of Muḥammad (A.S.T.)' — a risk they were never prepared to take.

Their anxiety is understandable. The recognition of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) as Rasūl of Allah by a *Ḥanīf* perturbed them, because in such a case, the Muslims were to support the argument of the *Risālat* in the light of this evidence. On the other hand, if they were prepared to dismiss as pure fiction and fabrication<sup>(18)</sup> the history of Waraqah, they were to disallow 'their co-religionist' (?) a privileged position<sup>(19)</sup>.

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17. This synopsis on Waraqah is based on the following authorities:

- (a) Ibn Hisham, *Sīrat Rasūl Allah*, (Cairo, 1355/1937), pp. 121, 143, 149, 155 and 205.
- (b) Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ (bāb al-ta'biṛ)* (Leyden, 1862-1908), vol. IV, 347-48.
- (c) Ṭabarī, *Annales (tārīkh)*, (Brill, Leiden, 1881-82), vol. III, pp. 147-48.
- (d) Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, (Cairo, 1325), vol. VI. p. 317.
- (e) Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, (Leyden, 1905 etc). Vol. I, 58, 130.
- (f) Al-Isbahānī, Abul Farāj, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, (Bulaq, 1285/1868), vol. III. pp. 14-15.
- (g) Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, (Cairo, 1286/1869), vol. V. pp. 88-89.

18. As Sprenger has done.

19. That Waraqah died as a Muslim will be discussed at the end.

Among the Western Islamists themselves there is no agreement as to the real role of Waraqah in relation to the *Risalat* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). It is of extreme significance that Sprenger, the first Islamist for our purposes, nowhere claims<sup>(20)</sup> that Waraqah influenced Muḥammad (A.S.T.). However, this honour and privilege has been conferred on him by Muir, Caetani, Lammens and Vacca<sup>(21)</sup>. While Sprenger accuses *Ṣīrah*-writers and *Muḥaddithīn* for causing the early death of Waraqah, Muir and Vacca admit of his natural death<sup>(22)</sup>. Sprenger knew that a portion of *Bible* was available in Makkah in the days of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in the spoken Arabic of those days<sup>(23)</sup>. But Muir has altogether a different version to give; "I have rejected the notion that Muḥammad had access to Apocryphal Gospels"<sup>(24)</sup>. He further remarks: "It is doubtful whether an Arabic translation of the Scriptures, or any part of them, was ever within Muḥammad's reach, notwithstanding traditions regarding Waraqah"<sup>(25)</sup> having copied from them. Sprenger did not proclaim Waraqah as a religious thinker. This injustice in the case of a Christian contemporary of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) has been rectified by Prince Caetani<sup>(26)</sup> and Muir<sup>(27)</sup>. Sprenger was mistaken in acknowledging Waraqah as the

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20. Although the description of Waraqah is spread over eighteen pages at different places in his first volume.

21. They do not quote authorities in such cases.

22. *Op. cit.*, respectively, p. 56; and IV, 1122.

23. Vol. I, p. 132.

24. *Op. cit.*, (London edition, 1861), vol. II, p. 283, fn.

N.B. — Two editions of Muir's '*Life of Muḥammad*' were at my disposal at different times. Hence citations from both.

25. *Ibid*, II, 310, fn.

26. *Annali, op. cit.*, I, 156.

27. Muir (Edinburgh), p. 42, wherein the author says, "who saw in his (Muḥammad's) teachings the counterpart of his own ideas".

follower of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) — even if for a very short period<sup>(28)</sup>. His successors in the field avoided this pitfall. Margoliouth did not allow Muḥammad (A.S.T.) to contact Waraqah and to consult the document in latter's possession but was liberal enough to get Muḥammad (A.S.T.) rely on *bazaar* gossips as regards the knowledge of ancient Scriptures<sup>(29)</sup>. Lonsdale and Ragg assert, "The theory that he (Muḥammad) employed documentary sources — that he had access, *e.g.*, to the Bible or a part of it — is prohibited by the stupendous inaccuracies<sup>(30)</sup> of which he is guilty in very simple matters . . . "<sup>(31)</sup>. Sprenger refuted the theory that Waraqah told Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in advance of his mission. Poor Sprenger's refutation has its own refutation (*radd al-radd!*) from Tor Andrae: "So I *suggest* that this relation of Khadījah's had already spoken with Muḥammad about the great *nāmūs* before the day on which the angel came with his call"<sup>(32)</sup>.

On the basis of what has been shown in the foregoing paragraph, the inescapable conclusion would be that these so-called Islamists have not contributed any research except the method of 'refuting — arguments': and through negative approach no hypothesis is ever affirmed but it only injures the arguments of one who asserts them. The contention

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28. *Op. cit.*, 1, 91.

29. *Op. cit.*, p. 60, sq. and 107.

30. Any such charge against *Qur'an* has been abundantly disproved several times by various Muslim authors.

31. "*The Gospel of St. Barnabas*", edited and translated by Lonsdale and Laura Ragg, (Oxford, 1907), Introduction, p. xxv.

32. Tor Andrae, '*Mohammad, the Man and his Faith*', (Harper and Brothers, N.Y., 1960), p. 112 (English translation by T. Menzel).

should be substantiated so that the basic problem is not overlooked for want of probe.

We thus notice that these Islamists refute one another in their conflicting claims regarding Waraqah. When they disagree among themselves, it may not be necessary to consider their hypotheses. But Islam claims that it is itself the whole truth. Hence we shall have to examine the story of Waraqah in the light of all the historical material available. The inconsistency of allegations should be thoroughly probed. Who is actually responsible for distorting the facts about Waraqah — the Islamists or the early Muslim writers?

Waraqah was not the only figure among the early contemporaries of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) at Makkah, Ṭā'if, Madinah (Yathrib) and in other cities of Arabia who were fed up with the pagan and heathen ways of the Arabs, denounced idolatry and were in search of truth. At least five other names are forthcoming in this connection. 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Asad was a Makkan. After complete disgust, he left for Byzantine, turned Christian and settled there. 'Ubayd Allah b. Jaḥsh was another Makkan. He remained in suspense till he finally embraced Islam and migrated to Abyssinia. Umayyah b. — abi'l-Ṣalt was from Ṭā'if. He was a poet of repute. He never recognised the *Risālat* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and composed satire on him. Zayd b. 'Amr was another Makkan. He embraced neither Christianity nor Judaism but declared himself a follower of the *Ḥanīf* religion, the monotheistic conception as preached by Abraham<sup>(33)</sup>. According to Sprenger, Zayd b. 'Amr tried to repose his confidence both in Judaism and Christianity but neither met his expectations<sup>(34)</sup>; he died, *alas*, before the commencement of the Ministry of

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33. These details are available in Ibn Hishām.

34. 1, 87. Nicholson (*Lit. Hist.*, Camb., '62), p. 149, says that he remained unattached to either.

Muḥammad (A.S.T.), a disillusioned person<sup>(35)</sup>. Waraqah composed an elegy on Zayd declaring him on the right path<sup>(36)</sup>. As'ad b. Zurārah, a Yathribite (who embraced Islam at the hands of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) at the First Pledge of 'Aqabah) used to discuss the conception of the Unity of God with a friend of his in pre-Islamic days<sup>(37)</sup>. The poets in pre-Islamic Arabia were already voicing the cry of Arabia for the unknown God<sup>(38)</sup>. No special credit, as such, could be allowed to Waraqah to be in search of Truth, if at all he was.

Tor Andrae has made a factual misstatement and has levelled a strange charge against Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in dealing with the four personalities (Waraqah, 'Ubayd Allah, 'Uthmān and Zayd) out of the six mentioned above. He claims, "It is noteworthy, that three of the four became Christians. Legend would hardly have invented such a conversion of pious men who sought the true doctrine of Abraham. Rather would it have made them adherents of Moham-mad and witnesses to the truth of Islam"<sup>(39)</sup>. Let us examine

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35. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 149. The word 'alas' is added by the present writer.

36. *Ibid.*, For other poems of Waraqah b. Nawfal vide Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah*, (Cairo, 1348/1929), III, p. 11 and the Introduction of Guillaume, p. 29, to the Qarawiyūn MS, fol. 40 b. entitled *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*.

37. For a full description of this Companion of Rasūl Allah refer present writer's article on him in J.P.H.S., XII, Part III, July, 1964.

38. Cf., Welhausen, J., "*Reste Arabischen Heidentums*", (Berlin, 1897), pp. 232, 234.

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

the exact position. Zayd b. 'Amr died much earlier even before the first revelation to Muḥammad (A.S.T.). Similarly, 'Uthmān b. al-Huwayrith had already left for and settled in Constantinople much before Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) mission. Islam entered Constantinople in the middle of 15th century. Hence no concern of Islam in these two cases. Moreover, Zayd died as an *Ḥanīf*, believing in Divine Unity. 'Ubayd Allah. b. Jahsh embraced Islam, but while in Abyssinia as an emigrant, fell a victim to Christian missionary activity. As regards Waraqah, he did not die as a Christian, as will be presently discussed, al-Qur'an declares:

تَعْلَمُ أَمْنَوِيَّةَ أَوْ  
لَا تُؤْمِنُوا إِنَّ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ إِذَا يُتْلَى عَلَيْهِمْ  
يَخِرُّونَ لِلْأَذْقَانِ سُجَّدًا ثُمَّ يَقُولُونَ سُبْحَنَ رَبِّنَا إِنْ كَانَ  
وَعْدُ رَبِّنَا لَمَفْعُولًا

"Say: Believe in it or believe not. Surely those who are given the knowledge before it, fall down prostrate on their faces, when it is recited to them. And say: Glory to our Lord! Surely the promise of our Lord was to be fulfilled"<sup>(40)</sup>.

If Waraqah knew Hebrew and translated/copied certain passages or portions from the *Bible* for his personal use, there is nothing wrong or novel in the proposition. It is a fact that he was one of the literate Makkans of those days. Being disappointed of the now corrupt religion of Abraham, he might have turned towards Christianity. We have seen above that while Sprenger presumed without authority that during the days of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) translations of the *Bible* were available in the spoken language of the Makkans, Muir does not subscribe to this view. Hurgonge agrees with the view of Muir<sup>(41)</sup>. *Qur'an* has nowhere suggested that the original

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40. *Al-Qur'an* 17: 107-108, which was vouchsafed to Waraqah..

41. For fuller discussion see *supra*, p. 157



*Injīl*, the revelation to Prophet ʿĪsā existed at the time of our Rasūl (A.S.T.). Hence Gerock would conclude that 'Muḥammad *did not intend* the *Bible* in common use among the Christians; but some other Gospel'<sup>(42)</sup>. Be that as it may, even if we concede, for the sake of argument, that Waraqah did translate/copy certain portions of the current *Bible*, it would in no way help the Islamists to come to the conclusion that he, thereby, influenced Muḥammad (A.S.T.). More will be seen presently.

Gospel means 'good tidings'. This can be explained because it gave the good news of the advent of the last of the Rasūl. Such good tidings are variously described in Jesus's metaphorical language thus:

- (a) The advent of the Kingdom of God (Mark, 1:15)
- (b) The coming of the Lord (Mat., 21:40)
- (c) The appearance of Periclyte ( فارقليط ) (John, 14:16)
- (d) The Spirit of the Truth (John, 14:17)

There is no historical reference of any prophet to have appeared anywhere after Jesus except that of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), the last of the series. All the above remarks of Jesus refer to futurity and to a man like unto him. Thus each of these four prophecies are in respect of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) alone.

That Muḥammad (A.S.T.) was also known by the name of أحمد is a well known fact of history. Ḥassān b. Thābit, a Companion of the Rasūl (A.S.T.), thus sings in his priase:

(43) صَلَّى اللَّهُ وَمِنْ يَحْتَفُ بِعَرْشِهِ — وَالطَّيِّبُونَ عَلَى الْمُبَارَكِ أَحْمَدُ

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42. '*Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Qoran*', (Hamburg and Gotha, 1839), p. 91. Italics mine.

43. *Sharah Dīwān*. Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, ed. by 'Abd al-Raḥmān -Barquqī, (Misf. 1347/1929, (al-Kubra Press), p. 99. Rendering would be: God blesses the auspicious Aḥmad and so do those who go round His Throne of Majesty and all pure ones.

This couplet may be compared with the *Qur'anic* verse of invocation of blessings<sup>(44)</sup>. Did Jesus really speak of the coming of *aḥmad* (Periclyte/Phrqlyt)? John, 14:15, "If ye love me ye will keep my commandments"; v. 16 "And I will pray the father and He shall give you *another* Periclyte that he may be with you for ever"; v. 26, "But Periclyte which is the spirit of Truth whom the Father will send in my name. . .". Rendering Greek Periclyte, a passive form, with 'Comforter' etc. is wrong. Commenting on Ibn Ishāq's word '*Aḥmad*' (himself translating it as 'Comforter' in the text), Guillaume remarks, "The most interesting word is that rendered 'Comforter' which we find in the Palestinian Lectionary, but all other Syriac versions render 'Paraclete' following the Greek. This word was well-established in the Hebrew and Aramaic speaking world"<sup>(45)</sup>. It should also be noted that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) is frequently called the 'Truth' in *al-Qur'an*<sup>(46)</sup>. Jesus said that he could not teach his followers all things, but when the 'Periclyte' makes his appearance, he would guide them into all truth. Muir says, "The word *Aḥmad* must have been erroneously employed as a translation of Perikalutas in some Arabic version of the New Testament and that Parakletos (illustrious) for Perikalutas was forged by some ignorant or designing monk in Muḥammad's time"<sup>(47)</sup>. For an endless

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44. *Al-Qur'an* XXXIII: 56 "Surely Allah and His angels bless the Nabī. O you who believe, call for blessings on him and submit to him with a becoming submission".

45. '*Life of Muhammad* (Oxford, 1955), p. 104, fn. 1.

46. *Al-Qur'an* XVII: 81; XXXIV: 49.

47. *Op. cit.*, (London ed.), II, 313. For the manipulations of monks, Jesus and *Qur'an* cannot be held responsible.

controversy among the Christian scholars of the Gospel over the word *Phrqlt* or *Periclyte* a select list is provided here<sup>(48)</sup>. The Gospel of Barnabas, which was declared heresy and apocrypha by Pope Leo IX (1049-54),<sup>(49)</sup> has foretold the coming of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) at several places, while using the words *Aḥmad* and *Muḥammad* (praised one/illustrious one). The relevant *Qur'anic* passage is:

“And when Jesus, son of Mary, said: O Children of Israel, surely I am the Rasūl of Allah, to you, verifying that which is before me of the Torah and giving the good news of a *Rasūl* who will come after me, his name being *Aḥmad*. But when he came to them with clear arguments, they said: This is clear enchantment”<sup>(50)</sup>.

A detailed discussion that *Phrqlt* was the original word for *Aḥmad* in the spoken language of Jesus, that its Greek rendering should be *Periclyte*, that prophecies can be clearly traced in the Old and New Testament in support of Muḥam-

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48. *The Four Gospels*, F.A. Spencer, (N.Y., Young & Co., 1899).  
*A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Hastings & Selbie, (N.Y., 1900), III, p. 665;  
*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, (London, 1902), III, 3568;  
*Ency. of Religion & Ethics*, I, 1908, art. *Advocate*.  
*The Catholic Ency.*, (N.Y., 1911), XI, p. 469;  
*Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (trans. from German, Bauer's), (Chicago, 1957)  
*Interpreter's Dictionary of Bible*, ed. Buttnick (four vols), (N.Y., 1962), III, 654, sq.;  
*Muslim World*", quarterly, No. 12, 1944, art. by Smith, "Did Jesus foretell Ahmed?";  
*'Muslim World'*, quarterly, No. 26, 1936, Jurji Zaydan, art. *Khadijah*";  
*'Al-Andalus*, quarterly, XV, fasc. 2 (1950) by A. Guillaume, pp. 289-96; also refer fn. 1, p. 104 to the same author's translation to Ibn Ishaq's *Sirat* (Oxford, 1955).  
49. *Bullarium Romanum* (in 24 volumes), Toms I, ed. Sebastiano Franco, (1857, Rome), p. 124. Through this *decretum* *Gelasio* in chapter IV about fifty Epistles, Acts and Gospels were denounced.

50. *Al-Qur'an* 61:6. يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَتَدْعُونَ إِلَى اسْمِهِ أَحَدًا

mad (A.S.T.), and that the Gospel of St. Barnabas is not a forged document does not fall within the perview of the present article<sup>(51)</sup>.

Now a very pertinent and poignant question arises – did Waraqah b. Nawfal translate/copy (*fa-yaktubo*) that very portion/portions of the Bible of Mark, Matthew and John in which prophecy/prophecies has/have been made by Jesus about the coming of *phrqlyt*/the Spirit of the Truth/one who establishes the Kingdom of God (on earth)<sup>(52)</sup>?

In all probability, it appears, that Waraqah translated/copied *these very* portions of Bible<sup>(53)</sup>. And the poor, blind disillusioned person became convinced of the *risālat* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) when *Khadījah* broke the news. Ṭabari says<sup>(54)</sup>:

وَقَدْ كَانَ تَتَصَرَّوْا تَبِيعَ الْكُتُبِ حَتَّى ادْرَكَ نَكَانَ فِي طَلِبِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ

كَانَ لِهَذِهِ الْأَمَّةِ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْمَاعِيلَ

*Sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ* (Ch. 112) is one of the earliest Makkan revelations. In the first Verse absolute unity of the Divine Being has been announced and all forms of Associationism are denounced, including belief in Trinity. In the second Verse Allah is declared as *aṣ-Ṣamad*, the one Who depends on none

51. Fra Marino, a Christian monk, who first discovered and took away the *Gospel of St. Barnabas* from the library of Pope Sixtus V (1512-90), embraced Islam by reading it.

52. Cf. Ibn Ishāq's *Sīrah*, Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

53. I crave the indulgence of the readers for at least one reasonable conclusion.

54. *Annales*, vol. III, p. 1151, (Brill) The English rendering would be: "He had embraced Christianity and studied the (inspired) books till he had reached (a knowledge of truth); and he was one of those who deduced from thence that there was a *Nabī* about to rise for his people from the Children of Ismā'īl".

but all depend on Him. It also refutes the contention of co-eternity of soul and matter with the Creator. In the third Verse the mistake of claiming God as father has been pointed out. In the fourth Verse the dogma of Incarnation stands denounced. This *sūrah* gives the substance of the teachings of the Qur'an. No such *sūrah* is there in Bible<sup>(55)</sup>.

It appears, therefore, wide of the mark to suggest that Waraqah influenced Muḥammad (A.S.T.). That Waraqah revolted against the religious bankruptcy of the Quraysh amounts to nothing, because any *honest* intelligent person could have realized it. It is also not correct to say that Waraqah encouraged Muḥammad (A.S.T.) or read the portion of the translated/copied Bible to him. *Al-Qur'an* declares:

"And indeed We know what they say: Only a mortal tutors him (Muḥammad). The tongue of him whom they hint at is foreign, and this is clear Arabic language"<sup>(56)</sup> *Khāzin* in his margin to the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī (*Lubāb al-bāb*) among the *Qur'anic* word *Baṣṣar* (mortal) mentions the names of certain Christian slaves such as Jabr, Yāsir, 'Ā'ish or Yā'ish, Qays and 'Addās. None of the commentators have mentioned the name of Waraqah in this connection or of any other Arab<sup>(57)</sup>. Who could have been in a better position than Waraqah, because these slaves were the earliest converts to Islam – a forgery of their own creation (?) (May Allah forbid!). The expression used here is 'foreign tongue', while Waraqah's mother tongue was clear Arabic language. Even according to the charge of the Makkans, if anybody was 'tutoring' Muḥammad (A.S.T.), Waraqah or any other Arab, was definitely not that person. Thus the contemporary opponents of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and the revelation to him

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55. Cf. Mufti Shafi', ma'ārif al-Qur'an (Karachi, 1983), VIII, pp. 843-44.

56. *Al-Qur'an* 16: 103.

57. For the incorrectness of the view regarding the names of Sergious or Bahīrah, refer Sales *Al-Koran*.

— external and internal evidence — both agreed that Waraqah did not come in the picture at all in tutoring or influencing him, as supposed.

If we can ascertain even the approximate time of Waraqah's death, the argument of 'causing his early death' could be flatly discarded. We know that Waraqah was alive just before the first revelation to Muḥammad (A.S.T.), because it is not disputed that he wrote an elegy over Zayd b. 'Amr who died at this very time<sup>(58)</sup>. We also know that Waraqah was alive just at the time of the first revelation, because it is also not in dispute. The dispute is whether he recognized the Mission of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) or not. At this stage the Islamists construe that he was caused to die. I fail to appreciate any genuine charge in this hypothesis. Innumerable persons, both Muslims and non-Muslim whose description we find in the works of original Muslim writers, tasted the cup of death. Their deaths were honestly recorded by them to the best of their information and belief. No other complaint is forthcoming. Why Sprenger fears this departure in the case of Waraqah, must be best known to him. Did we not initiate the discipline of *tārīkh* (dating and monthing of events) as against *kḥabar* (his-story) of the Ancients? When Kḥadījah broke the news to Waraqah about Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) revelation, he commented, "Verily, if I live to see that day (i.e. Makkan opposition), I will help Allah in such a way as He knoweth". This statement consciously confirms his ripe old age and a clear realization of the approaching end. While dealing with the visit of Kḥadījah to her cousin, Wāqidī adds, "This was the *first* time she went to Waraqah"<sup>(59)</sup> as if there was also

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58. Ibn Ishāq, Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

59. *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed., Kremer, (Calcutta, 1856), p. 37; cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Bāb al-Ta'bīr*, IV, 348.

second visit. The second visit, as a corollary to the first, however, is not mentioned by Wāqidī alone but also not by others. It can hardly mean 'the first' in the sense that she had never visited her cousin earlier. Muir admits that Waraqah was already dead before Muḥammad (A.S.T.) publicly assumed prophetic office<sup>(60)</sup>. Above all, Sprenger contradicts himself by saying. "Der Angel erschien dem Muḥammad in einem Traumgesicht und überbringt ihm eine Offenbarung, er ist aber noch nicht Prophet; Waraqah konnte daher ihn nicht anerkennen und *doch* vor Antritt seines Amtes sterben"<sup>(61)</sup>. It appears, therefore, that Waraqah died somewhere between the intermission of the first and the second Revelation, i.e. in the earliest period of the Call.

The hypothesis of Sprenger that Waraqah remained a *Ḥanīf* and supported the cause of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) till such time the latter himself observed *Ḥanīf* religion, and, subsequently, when Muḥammad (A.S.T.) introduced his own faith, Waraqah abjured *Ḥanīf* religion and turned a Christian, is also not historically proved. Firstly, there was no such thing as '*Ḥanīf* religion', but it was an expression given to the then extinct teachings of Abraham<sup>(62)</sup>. *Ḥanīfs* may be taken

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60. *Life of Muhammad*, II, p. 51, footnote (London ed.).

61. *Op. cit.*, I, 336 (italics mine). Translation would be: The Angel appears to Muḥammad (A.S.T.) in a dream and conveys to him a revelation but he is not Prophet as yet; Waraqah, thus, could not recognize him and *certainly* died before the beginning of his Ministry.

62. For an endless controversy among the Islamists on '*Ḥanīf*', the chief references are:  
 J.R.A.S. (1903), p. 772 sq. ) art. '*The Words Ḥanīf and Muslims*' by Lyall, Sir Charles;  
*Ency. Islam*, art. '*Ḥanīf*' by Buhl, F., (Old ed.);  
 Caetani, *Annali*, I, 181-192;  
 Journal '*Muslim World*' (1930, XX, 120-24), art. '*Who were Hanifs*', Bell;  
 Journal '*Palestine Oriental Society*' (1939), XIX, 1-13), art. '*The Development of the Meaning of Quranic Ḥanīf*' by Faris and Glidden;

as strict followers of the conception of the Divine Unity. They were not sect or party of historical people<sup>(63)</sup>.

If Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and Waraqah are to be regarded as the followers of *Ḥanīf* religion in the sense that both of them believed in the absolute Unity of the Divine Being – the cardinal principle of Abraham’s teachings (vide Waraqah’s elegy) – we have nothing to say. But Muḥammad (A.S.T.) maintained *this* principle throughout his life. Muḥammad (A.S.T.) retained the religion of Abraham in its purity, whereas the Jews and the Christians have corrupted it. Toynbee remarks, “. . . From this shameful betrayal (Christian Church capitulated to Greek Polytheism and idolatry) of the revelation of one true God, Islam had retrieved the pure religion of Abraham”<sup>(64)</sup>. Where was the necessity for Waraqah, then, to renounce Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and to search in Christianity what was not there? *Al-Qur’an* declares:

أَمْ اتَّخَذُوا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ شُفَعَاءَ ۚ قُلْ أَوْ كُنَّا نَاوِيِلِكُمْ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَعْقِلُونَ ۝

“Or take they intercessors besides Allah? What? Even though they control naught, nor do they understand.

قُلْ لِلَّهِ الشَّفَاعَةُ جَمِيعًا

“Say: Allah’s is the intercession altogether”<sup>(65)</sup>.

After quoting these two Quranic verses, Sprenger had to admit: “Diese Lehre war ein bedeutender Fortschritt über das

63. Qur’anic point of view on the issue is abundantly clear.

64. ‘*Civilisation on Trial*’, (Oxford, 1953), p. 76.

\*Not ‘Islam’ but Muḥammad (A.S.T.) has retrieved. ‘Muḥammad’ (A.S.T.) and ‘Islam’ are not synonyms.

65. 39: 43-44.



damalige Christentum, und es ist ziemlich sicher, dass er sie von den Hanyfen erhalten hat”<sup>(66)</sup>

*Al-Qur'an* declares:

وَقَالُوا كُونُوا هُودًا أَوْ نَصَارَى تَهْتَدُوا قُلْ بَلْ مِلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ  
حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ ©

“And they say: Be Jews or Christians, you will be on the right course. Say: Nay, (we follow) the religion of Abraham (*Ibrāhīma ḥanīfa*), and he was not of the Associationists”<sup>(67)</sup>. This is a Madinah revelation.

Again:

“Say: As for me (i.e. Muḥammad) my Lord has guided me to the right path – a right religion, the path of Abraham, the upright one (*Ibrāhīma ḥanīfa*), and he was not of the Associationists”<sup>(68)</sup>. This *Sūrah Al-An'ām* is generally considered to belong to the last year of Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) stay in Makkah. The word *Ḥanīf* is purposely used here in opposition to the attitude of both the Jews and the Christians. Thus Muḥammad (A.S.T.) never wiped away the traces of *Ḥanīf* religion. Hargronje declares – perhaps not realizing the implications – “This idea (man as the messenger of God), which runs like a crimson thread through all the revelations of first twelve years' of Muḥammad's prophecy, could not have existed if he had an intimate acquaintance with Jewish or Christian men of letters”<sup>(69)</sup>. It is, therefore, clear that when we first and last met Waraqah in history he was helpless to suggest anything to Muḥammad (A.S.T.). One

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66. *Op. cit.*, I, 254, Translation would be: This teaching was a definite improvement over the Christianity of those days and it is almost certain that he (Muḥammad) must have received it from the *Ḥanīfs*.

67. *Al-Qur'an*, 2: 135.

68. *Al-Qur'an*, 6: 162.

69. 'Muhammadanism' by C.S. Hargronje, Putnam's Sons, (N.Y., 1916), pp. 37-38.

can create good fiction but it will always remain bad history.

The *sīrah* and *ḥadīth* writers have not mentioned a word about 'the independent religious thinking' of Waraqah. Translation or copy of a portion of the Gospel or the composition of a poem or two cannot entitle Waraqah to that claim. He composed an elegy over Zayd b. 'Amr, which runs:

You were altogether on the right path, Ibn 'Amr,  
You have escaped hell's burning oven  
By serving the one and only God,  
And abandoning vain idols.  
And by attaining the religion which you sought,  
Not being unmindful of the Unity of your Lord,  
You have reached a noble dwelling,  
Wherein you rejoice in your generous treatment,  
You will meet there the Friend of God,  
Since you were not a tyrant ripe for hell,  
For the mercy of God reaches men,  
Though they be seventy valleys deep below the earth<sup>(70)</sup>.

Here the worship of the one God, denouncing the idols, belief in the next world and in the true faith of Abraham have been pointed out. To many Arabs of those days this 'religious thinking' was not altogether new although they might have not believed in it. Moreover, Waraqah presents here no 'independent religious thinking' but simply composes and commends vague ideas of Zayd b. 'Amr. If at all, therefore, there was any 'religious thinking' on the part of Waraqah — best known to the Islamists — it evaporated in the air with the change of 'thought', or, else, you charge him with inconsistency! As a further example, I quote two more couplets

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70. Ibn Ishāq. Guillaume trans, p. 103. Friend of God (*Khalīl Allah*) is the form of address for Abraham adopted in the Qur'an (4:125 etc).

from Waraqah which express nothing more than the sympathy to be shown to the weak and down-trodden people:

ارفع ضعيفك لا تحربك ضعفه — يومأفتدركه العواجب تدنى  
يجزيك أو يثني عليك وإن من — اثني عليك بما فعلت فقد جزي  
(71)

According to the Islamists, there appear to be six stages in the religious indecisions of Waraqah:

1. Pagan or *Jāhiliyah* days
2. *Hanīf* — at a later stage when fully matured
3. Christian — after reading from *Bible*, just before Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) Mission
4. Supporter of Muḥammad (A.S.T.), presuming that both were the followers of *Hanīf* religion
5. Abjurement of Christianity — otherwise: how the clause above would be operative?
6. Christianity — because they feel that Waraqah died as a Christian

However inconsistent and self-contradictory may be these contentions, they do establish at least one fact — confused mind of Waraqah. If such was the case, he was absolutely helpless to 'influence' anybody, much less Muḥammad (A.S.T.).

The foregoing shows that if an hypothesis is based on hypothesis it leads to nowhere. So the problem remains whether Waraqah died as a Christian or as a *Hanīf* or as the follower of Muḥammad (A.S.T.)? The contention of the Islamists that Waraqah died as a Christian is untenable because it lacks corroborative evidence. That he died as a *Hanīf* is still not the whole truth, because he had had better prospects be-

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71. *simṭu* ' , by al-Bikrī, ed. Memon, Abd al-Aziz, I, 206 (Cairo) :

fore him than Zayd b. 'Amr at the close of his life. There is logic and reason in the argument of those — they are earliest *sirah* writers and *Muḥaddithūn*. — who contend that Waraqah died as a Muslim<sup>(72)</sup>.

One can point out three distinct stages, though complimentary to each other, in the religious behaviour of Waraqah in his advanced years — pre-*Ḥanīf*, *Ḥanīf* and post-*Ḥanīf*. At first he denounced idolatry and even abstained from eating anything sacrificed on idols. He was in search of Truth, studied the books, i.e., the *Old* and *New Testaments*, until he reached a certain knowledge. The prevailing legends regarding *Ḥanīf* religion, his contacts with Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith and 'Ubayd Allah b. Jaḥsh and the deep study of *Torah* convinced him of the Unity of the Divine Being and he turned *Ḥanīf*. His study of the Scriptures had further convinced him that a *nabī* or *rasūl* was soon to appear from among the children of Isma'il. At this stage he was *shaikhun kabīrun* and turned blind, till such time his cousin Khadījah broke 'The Good Tidings' to him. As if the disappeared *nūr* of his eyes, all of a sudden, in the realization of a dim hope, now rekindled in his heart spontaneously and he cried out:

(73) هَذَا نَامُوسُ الَّذِي نَزَلَ اللَّهُ عَلَى مُوسَى

‘This is the (very) *Nāmūs* revealed to Moses’

He was a *Ḥanīf* no more. He was now convinced of and has recognized the *risālat* of *aḥmad/muḥammad* ('the Praised One') (A.S.T.). It was *bi'l-lisāni*.

There are host of books on *Ḥadīth*. and Commentaries

72. To this aspect my attention was drawn by my teacher, Dr. S. Mo'inul Haqq.

73. Upto here I have followed the authorities given in fn. 17 above. Paraphrasing is, of course, mine.

thereon, books on the Companions, books on history and lineages and the original transmitters of *Ḥadīth* and its later *Huffāz*, who agree that Waraqah believed in the *risālat* of Muhammad (A.S.T.) and died as a Muslim. Nay, they even go a step further, and declare him a Companion of Muḥammad (A.S.T.). All these references are collectively available in Ibn Hajar<sup>(74)</sup>, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq<sup>(75)</sup> and Anwar Shāh Kāshmirī<sup>(76)</sup>. There is no disagreement among these authorities just quoted and the one given in fn. 17 above on the recognition of the *risālat* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) by Waraqah b. Nawfal.

On the authority of 'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl, Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is reported to have said about Waraqah:

إِنَّهُ آمَنَ بِي وَصَدَّقَنِي

"He certainly believed in me and testified me (i.e. my *risālat*)".

74. *Iṣābah*, III, 633 (Misr, 1328 H.). Its sources are:

- (a) Ṭabari, *Annales*
- (b) al-Baghwī (al-Farra'), his book *Maṣābīḥ u'l-Sunnah*.
- (c) Ibn Qānā' ('Abdul Bāqī b. Kanā' b. Marzūq b. Wāthiq). He was *Ḥāfiẓ ul-Ḥadīth* (d. 351). Dārquṭnī has also narrated from him.
- (d) Ibn al-Sakan (al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Alī Sa'id b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'id al-Sakan, al-Baghḍādī, d. 353). He was *Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḥadīth*.
- (e) 'A'ishah, Ibn 'Abbas, 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr and 'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl — the original Transmitters of *Ḥadīth*.

75. *Al-Madārij u'l-Nabuwah* by 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq (Sheikh, *Muḥaddith* of Delhi, 1551-1642). He was a contemporary of the two great Emperors, Akbar and Jahangir and fought through pen against the anti-Islamic heretical and heterodoxical machinations of the two reigns. His other famous book is '*ashī' at al-lama'at*' which is a commentary of *Mishkāṭ*. Sources in *Madārij* are:

- (a) *Mishkāṭ*.
- (b) *Rowḍat al-Aḥbāb*.
- (c) *Al-Mawāḥib al-Iadunniyah bi'l-Manḥil Muḥammadīyah* by al-Qastallānī (Shihāb al-Dīn, d. 923 H.).
- (d) Ibn Mandah (al-Imām, al-Ḥāfiẓ, al-Jawwāl, *Muḥaddith* al-'Asr, Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh 'Alī Ya'qūb b. Yaḥyā b. Mandah, d. 301 H.). He was a narrator.

76. *Al-Fayḍ al-Bārī*, a Commentary on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, by Anwar Shāh Kāshmirī, (Misr, 1357/1938, I, 32).

A period of considerable duration elapsed between the first Revelation (first verses of *Sūrah al-'Alaq*) and the second one (*al-Muddaththir*, *Sūrah* 74). This pause between *إمعة* and *دعوة* is known as *فتر* or intermission. Through *al-Muddaththir* (قَمِ تَأْتِرُ) Muḥammad (A.S.T.) is told not to seclude himself and is commanded to convey the Message, to warn of a distressing punishment and to make others perfect. From this time starts the official preaching of Islam. But the Islam of Khadījah and Abu Bakr is recognized from the very first day. Their further formal declaration of *īmān* in Rasūl (A.S.T.) Allah is not forthcoming, because it was not necessary. Some what similar may be the position of Waraqah's *īmān*. Had he lived longer, he was not to 're-embrace' the Faith. However, it must be perfectly clear that Khadījah and Abu Bakr enjoy every conceivable superiority over him<sup>(77)</sup>.

Tabarī, Baghwi, Ibn Qāni', Ibn Sakan, Ibn Mandah, Qasṭallānī, Ibn Ḥajar and 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq, on the authority of 'A'ishah/Ibn 'Abbas, regard Waraqah b. Nawfal as a Companion of Rasūl (A.S.T.) Allah. One definition of *Ṣaḥābah* is of the nature:

(78) مَنْ رَأَى النَّبِيَّ مُؤْمِنًا

'Abd al-Ḥaqq is of the opinion that this definition precludes the condition of *دعوة*. When Khadījah took her husband to her cousin, there was a meaningful conversation between Muḥammad (A.S.T.) and Waraqah.

It is generally accepted that Waraqah died prior to the second Revelation but there are two instances to show that he lived even longer. Sprenger places his death in 616 A.C., i.e., in the sixth year of the Call<sup>(79)</sup>. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr

77. Verse 33 of *sūrah al-Zumar* describes Muḥammad's (A.S.T.) relations with Abu Bakr.

وَالَّذِي جَاءَ بِالصِّدْقِ وَصَدَّقَ بِهِ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ

78. Trans: One who has seen the *Nabī* in the capacity of a believer.

79. I, 92 (op. cit.).

while relating the persecution of the early converts narrates: Umayyah b. Khalaf being angry with his Negro slave Bilāl on account of his embracing Islam, used to lay him down on the burning sand and torture him and to demand of him to renounce his new Faith; Bilāl's reply used to be "*Aḥad, Aḥad*" (meaning One, True God); when Waraqah used to pass by he asked Bilāl to remain steadfast.

On the authority of Balādhurī and Muslim, Qastallānī says that Waraqah died at Makkah and lies buried there<sup>(80)</sup>.

From this detailed discussion one can safely conclude that Waraqah did not die either as a Christian or a *Ḥanīf*, but on the contrary, as a Muslim. On that basis he is regarded as a Companion of the Rasūl (A.S.T.). These authorities will have to be taken into consideration<sup>(81)</sup>.

St. Luke (II, 26) says: "And it was revealed unto him (Simon, just and devout) by the Holy Ghost; that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord Christ". As Waraqah b. Nawfal was convinced of the appearance of a *nabī/rasūl*, his life was also spared by his Lord to hear the *Nāmūs* and to see the *nūr*!

That there was a deliberate, conscious, systematic and consistent effort on the part of all *Sīrah* and *Ḥadīth* writers for centuries together to distort the history of Waraqah b. Nawfal and to bring in Christian evidence for purposes of supplying foreign proof for the *Risālat* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) remains to this day a hypothetical contention with the Islamists. The argument that 'which we find in *Sīrah* and *Ḥadīth* books is incorrect and that what does not exist there *might be correct*' appears to be a strange logic. Was it not

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80. "*Irshād al-Sārī*", Qastallānī's Commentary on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Nawalkishore (India, n.d.), I, 56.

81. If the first narrator is not an eye-witness but he is a Companion, his narration is acceptable under '*marāsīl al-Ṣaḥābah*' on the basis of *حذف* system.

because of this method of criticism employed by the Islamists that Abul Kalām Āzād, while discussing the unimpeachable authenticity of the internal and external evidence adopted by the *Ḥadīth* writers in particular, had to declare that if the Islamists disbelieve what our *Muḥaddithūn* have to say, how they can force him to believe that Alexander ever existed<sup>(82)</sup>?

In conclusion I translate below the remarks of an Islamist against his own co-religionists: "The historical criticism came to be employed in Islamic learning (by the non-Muslims) later than in other philologic-historical fields and the wave of scepticism and over-criticism, which elsewhere has of long softened to cooler prudence and dispassionate judgement, has not modified as yet in this case.....This intellectual historical situation makes it clear that in this sphere theories with inadmissible generalization can be advanced which turn solitary instances into principles. To this domain belongs, e.g., the thesis propounded by Lammens that there is no other true transmission on the life of the Prophet except that in the *Qur'an* and that the *Sīrah* is a collection of apocryphal legends. . . . Such radical theories . . . must be discarded as a closed chapter now . . . Whosoever gives to these sources their due without prejudice will find in them a treasure of historical life"<sup>(83)</sup>.

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82. "*Mas'ala Khilāfat*" (in Urdu), trans. by Mas'ud Nadwi, (Lahore, n.d.), p. 51.

83. The denunciation of the Islamists by J.W. Fück, the famous German writer, in his review in German language on Joseph Schacht's book *The Origin of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (refer *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, X, 5, September, 1953, pp. 196-199), is a sincere attempt on the part of a modern non-Muslim in pointing out the prejudices of his co-religionists in the case of Islam.



## *DHĀTU Ṣ-ṢAWĀRĪ*

### A NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE *KHILĀFAH* AND BYZANTIUM

It was in the beginning of 634 that the Muslim arms under the orders of Caliph Abu Bakr first entered Syria and in 636, after the decisive battle of Yarmūk, Heraclius (610-41), the Eastern Roman Emperor, had to bid 'farewell' to that province<sup>1</sup>. By the year 640 all Syria from south to north was completely cleared of the enemy. In the beginning of the same year 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ got the permission of 'Umar, the Second Caliph (634-44) to invade Egypt. Within a period of two years this country was also subjugated by the Muslims, including the most powerful, dangerous, and effective naval base of Alexandria. Thus within a period of eight years the Greeks had lost to the rising power of Islam two most strategic, fertile, and rich provinces of their empire. It was a loss irreparable to the Eastern Christians. But the backbone of Byzantine harassment and aggression was far from broken. Still in possession of the whole of Asia Minor, controlling the island of Cyprus at a striking distance against the Syrian coast, exercising complete mastery over the eastern Mediterranean, and commanding a strong and effective war fleet, the Byza-

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1. Balādhurī, *Futūḥu 'l-Buldān*, p. 137.

ntines were still the only force to be reckoned with as far as the shores of Syria and Egypt were concerned. So long as the ports of Alexandria, Damietta, and Tinnis on the African coast<sup>(2)</sup> and Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli on the Syrian coast<sup>(3)</sup> were open to the constant naval attacks of the enemy — so far defeated on land only — the position of the Muslims was never to be secure. So long as the Greeks commanded the sea there was no rest in Syria and Alexandria<sup>(4)</sup>.

The Arabs were without a fleet. How to gain naval supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean so that the Syrio-Egyptian coast could be made safe from the naval attacks of the Byzantines — this was the main issue at stake for the Muslims. In the initial stage simple defence of the coastline, later on, maintaining sufficient naval force, and, lastly, to defeat the enemy on the high seas were the only solution to those problems.

It was as early as when Mu'āwīyah b. -abī Sufyān was still the *Wālī* of Damascus that he requested 'Umar and got permission for repairs, garrisoning, posting watchmen on towers, and to light fires to announce the arrival of the enemy on the coastal areas<sup>(5)</sup>. But this defensive system was far from adequate. In 645 the Greek Emperor invaded and captured Alexandria with the help of a great naval fleet. Its immediate loss was an eye-opener to the Muslims. 'A forest of ships congregated in its safe and spacious harbour, from whence communications were maintained with all the seaports of the realm. Alexandria was 'a European, rather than

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2. For Muslim conquest of Egyptian coast refer Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Hakam, *Futūḥu 'l-Miṣr*, pp. 80-82; Ibn Taghribirdī, *an-Nujūm*, i. 20; Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 310, 400, 541.

3. For Muslim conquest of Syrian coast refer Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii. 180; Ṭabarī, i. 2798; Ibn Athīr al-kamil, iii. 60.

4. Brooks, *Cambridge Medieval History*, ii. 352.

5. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

an Egyptian city<sup>(6)</sup>. Although 'Amr b. al-Āṣ was in a position to inflict a second land defeat and reannex this port, the main and intricate problem remained unsolved. The Byzantines continued their raids against Damietta in Egypt<sup>(7)</sup>. Arādūs (Arwād in Arabic), a Syrian island attached to the mainland through a bridge, for years together could not be captured by the Muslims. Why this delay for ten years after the annexation of Syria? Because constant naval help was forthcoming from Constantinople<sup>(8)</sup>. The Greeks once after landing on the Syrian coast penetrated as far as Antioch (Arabic = Antākiah).

All these events pointed to one plain fact. 'AbdAllāh b. Sa'd, the governor of Egypt, and Mu'āwīyah, the governor of Syria, were the first two Muslim naval strategists and essentially the latter, who were alive to the situation. A strong powerful Muslim navy was the need of the hour. Byzantine supremacy over the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean was to be smashed once for all. From defensive, as was the case under 'Umar<sup>(9)</sup>, Syria and Egypt now had to turn offensive under 'Uthmān, the third Caliph (644-56).

Previously, although 'Umar allowed Mu'āwīyah to garrison the coastal areas, he did not give him permission to undertake naval expeditions<sup>(10)</sup>. The Caliph at Madinah did not fail to appreciate the immediate problem<sup>(11)</sup> but realized, far better than the governor on the spot, the practical impossibility of

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6. Muir, *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, p. 167.

7. Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, i. 214.

8. *Ency. of Islam*, Suppl., p. 195; Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, p. 56; Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 213.

9. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddama* (trans. Rosenthal), ii. 39.

10. Ṭabarī, *Annales* v. 35; Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-2; Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 190.

11. As Hourani, p. 56, wants us to believe.

the task at that stage. But Mu'āwīyah continued pressing his request for increasing his naval strength. At last, 'Uthmān allowed him to keep ready reinforcements, to distribute the evacuee lands in coastal towns to the Muslim settlers, and to repair the ports<sup>(12)</sup>.

All this goes to prove that by this time a new chapter was being opened in the naval history of the Muslims. Previously the capture of Alexandria, the second city of the Greek Empire, the centre of eastern-Mediterranean commercial life and the southern base of the Greek navy, was the first stage in laying the foundation of Muslim sea-power. 'AbdAllāh b. Sa'd and Mu'āwīyah now made a concerted and well-planned effort to increase their naval strength. The defensive system was no more necessary. In these two capable governors Islam found its two earliest naval strategists. Apart from Constantinople, Cyprus was the second largest naval base of the Byzantines. The close proximity of the island to the Syrian coast was regarded by Mu'āwīyah as extremely dangerous<sup>(13)</sup>. Under the instructions of 'Uthmān he carried out extensive repairs to Acre ('Akka) and Tyre (Ṣūr) in al-Urdun and Tripoli in Phoenicia (Fanīkah). Restoration and repair was hurriedly carried out in these ports<sup>(14)</sup>.

There is no doubt that Alexandria was the main Arab arsenal in those days and Mu'āwīyah got his ships constructed there<sup>(15)</sup>, but there is sufficient evidence to show that ship-building work was also carried out in Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli<sup>(16)</sup>. Mu'āwīyah did himself build his ships<sup>(17)</sup>, but

12. Balādhurī, *op cit.*, p. 152.

13. Brooks, *C.M.H.* ii. 352.

14. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Ya'qūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 372; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam, al-Bulḍān*, iv. 206.

15. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 113, n. 1.

16. *Historian's History of the World*, vii. 184.

17. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, p. 708; Brooks, *C.M.H.* ii. 352; Vasiliev, *History of Byzantine Empire*, i. 259; *Historian's Hist.* vii. 184; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 290; *Ency. Isl.*, Suppl., p. 194.

some orientalists unnecessarily doubt this fact<sup>(18)</sup>. The best that can be said on the basis of original authorities is that, if not big vessels, at least sizeable boats were definitely constructed by Mu'āwīyah at these Syrian ports during his term of viceroyalty. The contention is further supported, as we shall see later, by mentioning that for *Dhātu 's-Sawārī* Mu'āwīyah dispatched his contingent of ships from Acre.

Syria and Egypt were now bent upon taking the wind out of the sails of the Byzantines. What should be the first object of attack? Cyprus as the naval base of the Greeks and in close proximity to the Syrian coast was the natural target. With their combined strength and under the command of Mu'āwīyah himself, a strong naval fleet, prepared at Alexandria and supplemented from Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli, set sail, therefore, from Acre to Cyprus. Without any naval engagement the Muslims landed on the island in the summer of 649 and occupied it<sup>(19)</sup>. Two years later (650), when Mu'āwīyah was no more afraid of the attacks from Constantinople against the Syrian coast, he set sail for and captured without a fight the island of Arwād (Arādūs). The combined vigilance of 'AbdAllāh b. Sa'd and Mu'āwīyah foiled the attempt of the enemy in 652 to retake the port of Alexandria<sup>(20)</sup>, 'the greatest and wealthy emporium of Egypt'.

The Syrio-Egyptian coast was now under complete control of the two mighty governors of the western possessions of Islam. They were both prepared to measure arms with the Byzantines on the high seas and to challenge control over the Eastern Mediterranean. The third and important stage in the naval history of the early Muslims under the *Khilāfah* of

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18. *Ency. Isl.* i. 919; *Ency. Isl.*, Suppl., p. 194; Hourmai, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

19. Tabarī, *Annales* ii. 205; Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Brooks, *C.M.H.* ii. 353.

20. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

'Uthmān had begun.

Thus Mu'āwīyah began to fit out a naval expedition from Tripoli in Syria. A daring enterprise of two brothers, the Christian inhabitants<sup>(21)</sup> of the place, however, rendered the expedition abortive. These two Tripolitans and their partisans, placing themselves at the head of an armed band, which they had hastily formed, seized the city, slew the local *Wālī* and burnt the fleet. Then they hurriedly escaped by sea<sup>(22)</sup>. Although the date of the incident has not been given, it appears that the occurrence belonged to the interval between the capture of Arwād (652) and the naval engagement of *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* (655), we are just going to narrate. It seems that the naval supremacy of the Byzantines being now on the decline, they preferred internal subversion. That the Tripolitan brothers had received word from Constantinople is self-evident (it was one of these Tripolitan brothers who was responsible for the escape of the Emperor after his defeat at *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī*). But Mu'āwīyah was not to be cowed down.

By the year 617 A.C. the Byzantine possessions of Asia Minor had been reduced by the Sassanids of Persia to some ports only. Though all seemed well-nigh lost, the Emperor Heraclius still retained one priceless advantage—firm control of sea power. By the year 624 *Khusro Pervez* lost his conquests because he made no attempt to meet the naval deficiency. Heraclius made wonderful use of this advantage by landing troops on the coast of Cilicia. This forced the enemy to evacuate Asia Minor, and, in turn, sealed the fate of Persian designs<sup>(23)</sup>.

This victory of the Eastern Roman Emperor was proclaimed—

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21. That the Greeks were still there at Acre, Tyre, and Tripolis cf. *Balādḥurī*, *op. cit.*, p. 117, on the authority of *Wāqidī* (*Futūḥu 'sh-Shām*).
  22. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. De Boer, p. 345; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. Langlois, p. 239; *Historian's Hist.* vii. 184.
  23. Cf. Sykes, *History of Persia*, i. 484-5.

ed by the Qur'an in the year 616, in the seventh year before the Hijrah, in the following words:

- (24) عَلَيْتِ الرُّومَ فِي أَذَى الْأَرْضِ وَهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ  
عَلَيْهِمْ سَيَعْلَبُونَ ۚ فِي بَضْعِ سِنِينَ ۚ  
 "The Romans are vanquished  
 In a near land, and they, after their defeat, will gain  
 victory  
 Within nine years" (25).

Vanquishment of the victorious Persians is here foretold. It is noteworthy that a time limit was also announced. It was exactly nine years after the *wahī* that the tables were turned against the mighty Persian Empire<sup>(26)</sup>.

History was not to repeat itself. Mu'āwīyah was not going to commit the mistake of the Sassanids. That priceless naval advantage was to be challenged.

Abū Ayyūb 'AbdAllāh b. Sa'd b. -abī Sarh al-'Āmrī, commonly known as 'Ab Allāh. b. Sa'd, the governor of Egypt, appointed earlier than the revolt of Alexandria<sup>(27)</sup>, fully co-operated with Mu'āwīyah for the coming challenge. In Mu'āwīyah and 'AbdAllāh Islam found its first two admirals (*Amīru 'l-Baḥr*). Preparations were made far in advance. 'AbdAllāh b. Sa'd built 200 warships at the Alexandrian arsenal for his Syrian counterpart. For the everlooming encounter Mu'āwīyah on his part built a considerable number of small ships in the Phoenician ports of Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli<sup>(28)</sup>. In the year A.H. 34/A.D. 655 the combined

24. Qur'an xxx: 2-4.

25. E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, is very clear on the meaning of nine years.

26. Rodwell's ending, 'they will be defeated after their defeat', carries no sense because it is meaningless. In the following Verse 'rejoicing' is mentioned.

27. Ibn Taghribirdī, *op. cit.*, i. 88.

28. *Ency. Isl.*, Suppl., p. 194.

Syrian and Egyptian fleets under the command of 'AbdAllāh b. Sa'd set sail from Acre in the north-westerly direction. The ships were known as *Safīna*, *Markib*, and *Kārib*<sup>(29)</sup>. The second in command was Busr b. -abī<sup>(30)</sup> Arṭāh<sup>(31)</sup>, the representative of Mu'āwīyah<sup>(32)</sup>. Nobody knew where and why the Muslim fleet was proceeding. The Greek Emperor Constans II (641-68) had already started from Constantinople with 500 or 600 warships; and passing through the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea entered the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean. The two fleets met off the Lycian coast near Phoenicia and the famous, important, decisive naval battle of *Dhātū 's-Ṣawārī* took place. The Muslims were victorious.

To give in brief the details of the battle:

All the ships, the combined efforts of the two provincial governors, now assembled at Acre. Mu'āwīyah did not participate in the campaign. 'AbdAllāh b. Sa'd and Busr b. -abī Arṭāh loaded the fleet with men, provisions, and weapons. They embarked the army and the labour. Emperor Constantine son of Heraclius, came in person over the command of the Greek fleet.

The Muslim fleet was inferior in number and equipment<sup>(33)</sup>.

When the Muslim fleet appeared on the high seas the crew saw a fleet of warships in large numbers coming from the opposite direction. The two fleets came nearer. It was windy

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29. Ibn 'Abdul Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

30. In Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, i. 272, the word 'Abī' is missing.

31. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

32. Ibn 'Abdul Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah fī tamīzu's-Ṣaḥābah* i. 153.

33. *Journal Asiatique*, Reinaud, Sept. 1848, p. 232;



on that day. Soon night approached. The wind lulled and both sides lay at anchor for the whole night. The Muslims proposed rest for the night to which the Greeks agreed. At night the Muslims recited Verses from the Qur'an, offered worship and prayed to Allah. On their part the Christians rang their bells (*Nāqūs*)<sup>(34)</sup>. Even before the break of day the fierce engagement started. Muslims would have preferred the battle at close quarters while the Byzantines liked an encounter from a distance. 'AbdAllah b. Sa'd set Muslim ranks in battle array. He commanded them to recite from the Qur'an and instructed them to be steadfast. The Greeks commenced the attack on the Muslim fleet.

Initially arrows were shot at and stones were hurled, propelled by catapults (*manjanīq*) from both sides till the Christians broke through their ranks. When finally the ships were grappled by chains, men fell upon one another fighting with swords and daggers. Since the engagement was taking place on high seas it is difficult to accept that the Greek fleet was forced to close quarters. The red streams sprang forth till the surrounding sea was saturated with blood. The fight was over by the afternoon. It was a terrible untold loss of men and material on both sides. Allah, however, gave victory to the Muslims. The Arab sword play decided the day. Twenty thousand Christians perished on board. Only those Christians saved their lives who could have escaped. The defeated Emperor himself owed his safety to the valour of one of the the Tripolitan brothers whose gallant defence of the royal boat enabled the Emperor to escape before its valiant defender was slain and the galley fell into the hands of the Arabs. The crest-fallen Emperor, instead of appearing in Constantinople,

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34. Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, iii. 48.

escaped in disguise to Syracuse, where he was, later on, murdered<sup>(35)</sup>.

The result of *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* was far reaching, for the Greeks it was disastrous. The Muslim victory was thorough and complete. The Byzantine catastrophe was comparable with that of Yarmūk. It was an overwhelming defeat for the Byzantines. No such naval victory had occurred in the Mediterranean since that of Actium, very near to the same spot, where Marc Antony's fleet was destroyed (31 B.C.) by that of Octavius. Nor was there another such decisive encounter in those waters till that known as the Battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571 between the Ottomans on the one hand and Spain, Venice, and Pope on the other. *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* sealed the fate of the Byzantine naval supremacy. The fate of the Byzantine monarchy remained, now onwards, passively connected with Islam till Constantinople was finally annexed in 1453. It was only fourteen years after *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* that Mu'āwīyah could invade Constantinople by sea. From this period onwards the successive Muslim dynasties were always on the offensive, thanks to the spirit of *Jihād*.

It is not difficult to point out the real cause of the battle. Some of the historians have given the reason as the intention on the part of Mu'āwīyah to attack the enemy's capital itself<sup>(36)</sup>. Because of this reason at least one fact is clear, namely that the Muslim fleet must have started from Acre in the north-westerly direction and not towards the south, i.e. Alexandria. Others point out that his intention was to cut

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35. The whole description of the battle, after sift and balance, is based on the following books: Tabarī, v. 68-70; Ibn 'Abdul Hakam, pp. 189-90; Maqrizī, p. 190; Athīr, iii. 48-49; Ibn Hajar, i. 153-4; Theophanes, ed. De Boer, p. 345; Michael the Syrian, ed. Langlois, p. 240; Bury, *Later*, ii. 290; Gibbon *Roman Empire*, v. 530; Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, ii. 332; Brooks, *C.M.H.* ii. 252-3; Muir, p. 213; *Ency. Isl.* i. 30, 804, 918-19 (the battle itself is not discussed in the book); Brooks, *C.M.H.* iii. 415; *Historian's History of the World*, vii. 184; Balādhurī, *Ansābu 'l-Ashraf*, v. 50.

36. Brooks, *C.M.H.* ii. 353; *Historian's Hist.* vii. 184.

cypress-tress from the Phoenician coast for purposes of ship-building<sup>(37)</sup>. The original Muslim historians like Ṭabari and Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam are quite clear on the point. Ṭabari's words are: 'Mu'āwīyah prepared himself against the Byzantines'. Athīr says: Muslims went to meet them (the Greeks)<sup>(38)</sup>. This reflects that the Muslims came to know in advance through their intelligence service about the Greek preparations. Hence they were ready. Such vast preparations were, of course, not for looting timber from enemy's territory. When the Muslims had already built a great fleet the theory of 'timber' does not appeal. To think in terms of Constantinople at this stage was too premature. After all, the sea route was to be first cleared to reach the Bosphorus. A decisive naval engagement was to be fought and fought it must be. Why was not the problem; when and where was the issue. Hence *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* in 34/655.

The exact location of the spot in the Mediterranean where the engagement took place is impossible to be made, but there does exist sufficient data to help to solve the riddle. From the Muslim accounts no direct clue is available. Modern historians think that the battle was fought off Phoenix<sup>(39)</sup>. Lycia is a district in the south-east of Asia Minor, occupying the coast between Caria and Pamphylia and extending inland as far as the ridge of Mt. Taurus<sup>(40)</sup>. Phoenicia is a name given to that part of the sea-board of Syria which extends from the river Eleutherus (in Arabic known by the name of *Nahru 'l-Kabīr*) in the north to Mt. Carmel in the south. Sometimes

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37. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, p. 57.

38. Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, v. 59; Ibn Athīr, *op. cit.*, iii. 48.

39. Theophanes, ed. De Boer, p. 345; Bury, *Later*, ii. 290; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, p. 47; Becker, *C.M.H.* ii. 253.

40. *Ency. Brit.* xvii. 151-2. (N.Y. 1910-11)

Arādūs (Arabic Arwād), captured by the Muslims in 650, which is in the north of Eleutherus, is also included in the Phoenician area<sup>(41)</sup>. If Arādūs and Phoenicia are to be included in Syria then Lycia may also form part of Syria proper. Here 'Abdul 'Alī Barkī's inclusion of Lycia in Syria<sup>(42)</sup> comes to our help. Arādūs had been recently lost to the Muslims by the Byzantines. Thus the battle was in deep waters off the Lycian coast, in between Phoenicia and Arādūs. The distance from Acre<sup>(43)</sup> to Arādūs is shorter than that from Constantinople to Arādūs. This means that the Byzantine navy started earlier for the engagement than did the Arabs. Who can say that the Greek Emperor wanted to retake Arādūs and to land on the Lycina coast? What Heraclius had done against the Sassanids, Constans II now tried to achieve against the Muslims, but in vain.

Apart from the Muslims, Copts were also on board the Arab navy<sup>(44)</sup>. They must have served as rowers, helmsmen, sailors, carpenters, and caulkers. As was the case with other naval expeditions, these non-Muslims were taken into service for purposes other than fighting. Hourani and Fahmy<sup>(45)</sup> maintain that these Copts were enrolled by conscription – of course, they have not quoted any authority. But an original authority is very clear on this point. 'Every craftsman (of non-Arab nations now conquered) offered them (the Muslims) his best services. They employed sea-going nations for their maritime needs'<sup>(46)</sup>. This proves that there was absolutely no

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41. *Ency. Brit.* xxi. 449.

42. *Vide* his description of Africa. My authority is however, Gibbons *Foundations of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 282, n. 1.

43. If the battle took place near Alexandria then Mu'āwīyah's ships would have joined 'Abd Allah's and not *vice versa*.

44. *Ṭabarī*, *op. cit.*, v. 70; Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Hakam, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90; and others.

45. Hourani, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; Fahmy, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

46. Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddama*, ii. 34.

conscription, but on the contrary, the law of supply and demand, mutual advantage, and reciprocal feelings prevailed. It is worth noting here that when 'Uthmān allowed Mu'āwīyah to undertake the naval expedition he stipulated that no Muslim was to be pressed for sea service, which was to be on a voluntary basis<sup>(47)</sup>. Since this facility was provided even to the fighting personnel, it is illogical to conclude that the Copts were forced to serve against their wishes and were enlisted by conscription. It is also highly unjust to suggest<sup>(48)</sup>, that the Arabs considered it beneath their dignity to work as sailors. The Copts were employed not because of this reason but because the Muslims of those days had not much sea-going experience. And who has set better examples of the dignity of labour than Muḥammad (A.S.T.), the Rasūl of Allāh? Unsound remarks of Hourani and Fahmy must not go unchallenged!

The exact month and year of the battle is not clearly established. The original Arab historians, the Greek chroniclers and modern historians, none is definite on this issue. Ṭabari gives A.H. 31 and 34 as the two possible dates. Athīr has followed him. Balādhurī has not mentioned the incident at all in *Fatūḥu 'l Buldān* but in *Ansābu 'l-Ashirāf* (the Book of the Lineages of the Nobles)<sup>(49)</sup> has mentioned A.H. 34 as the date. Muir<sup>(50)</sup> accepts A.H. 31 and *Ency. Isl.* too<sup>(51)</sup>. Fahmy<sup>(52)</sup> has mentioned it under A.H. 54. Only two modern

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47. Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, v. 18; Maqrizī, *op. cit.*, ii. 190.

48. Hourani, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

49. Vol. v. p. 50.

50. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

51. *Ency. Isl.* i. 30.

52. Fahmy, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

history books, *Cambridge Medieval Hist.*<sup>(53)</sup> and Hitti<sup>(54)</sup> have accepted (A.H. 34) 655. Many historians agree that just after the engagement real trouble started for 'Uthmān which, later on, resulted in his assassination<sup>(55)</sup>. His martyrdom took place on 18th *Dhū al-Hijjah*, A.H. 35/17 June 656. It follows, therefore, that out of two Hijrah dates the engagement belongs to A.H. 34 and in no case to A.H. 31. *Historian's History* says: 'The hostile fleet (Muslim) has suffered too much to attempt any further operations and the expedition was abandoned for that year'. While *Cambridge History*, in connexion with the same engagement, declares: 'Fortunately for the Byzantines 'Uthmān was murdered shortly afterwards'. These two statements show that 'Uthmān died sometime after the battle of *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī*. Keeping in view that A.H. 34 falls half in 654 and half in 655 and that the interval between the battle and the assassination of the innocent Caliph being short, A.H. 34, corresponding to A.D. 655, appears to be the only reasonable year for the engagement. Now remains the question of the probable month/months. The island of Cyprus was invaded by Mu'āwīyah in the summer season<sup>(56)</sup>. It means that winter was avoided. In the case of *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* the considerations of season and climate must have also prevailed. Summer sets in in April in the Eastern Mediterranean. The A.H. 34 comes to a close on 10th July 655. 'Uthmān was assassinated about the close of A.H. 35 (June 656). If between *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* and 'Uthmān's murder the shortest possible interval is to be allowed, as established earlier, the engagement must have taken place in May-June 655/*Dhū al-qu'dah*. — *Dhū al-Hijjah*, A.H. 34 — also keeping in view the summer season.

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53. Fahmy, ii. 353.

54. p. 200.

55. *Historian's Hist.* vii. 184; *C.M.H.* ii. 353.

56. Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 205; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* p. 117; *C.M.H.* ii. 253.

'*Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī*', as the name of the battle, may not be clear. Tabari has mentioned it as *Ghazwatu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī*<sup>(57)</sup> and Athīr<sup>(58)</sup> has followed him. Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Hakam has given the name *Dhu aṣ-Ṣawārī* and *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī*<sup>(59)</sup>. *Ṣauran*, *Ṣārī* and *Aṣwār* indicate palm-trees or cypress-trees, groves of cypress-trees and a transverse beam in the middle of the ship, the mast. Hence the translation of *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* as 'that of the masts'. It may be therefore, concluded that either because of the cypress timber<sup>(60)</sup> used in the building of the ships or because of the innumerable masts in various ships this name was preferred. Far away from the coast and in deep waters no other name was possible.

Mention here of a *ḥadīth* in connection with *Dhātu 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* would make an absorbing reading. The Rasūl (A.S.T.) is reported to have said:

أَوَّلُ جَيْشٍ مِنْ أُمَّتِي يَنْزِلُونَ الْبَحْرَ قَدْ أُوجِبُوا

(The first army of my Ummat which conducts the naval war is destined to Paradise). Ibn Hajar, while explaining this *ḥadīth* in his commentary on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* says that by '*qad aujabu*' is meant: أَيْ أُوجِبَتْ لَهُمْ بِهِ الْجَنَّةُ (for these the paradise is guaranteed). Ibn Kathīr says that we did mention this *Ḥadīth* in support of the argument of *nabuwah* (of Muḥammad): (A.S.T.)<sup>(61)</sup>:

وَقَدْ ذَكَرْنَا هَذَا مَقَرًّا فِي دَلَائِلِ النَّبَوَةِ

Ibn Khaldūn says: "They (the Arabs) wished to wage the

57. Tabari, *op. cit.*, v. 68.

58. Athīr, *op. cit.*, iii. 48.

59. Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Hakam, *op. cit.*, i. 190.

60. Theophanes, ed. De Boer, p. 385; and Canard, *Journal Asiatique* 1926, p. 25. n. 5, says that Phoenicia was famous for its rich forest of cypress-trees.

61. a) Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitābu 'l-Jihād*, I, 410;

b) Ibn Hajar while explaining this *ḥadīth* in his commentary (*Fathu 'l-Bārī*) says that by *qad aujabū* is meant: "for them al-Jannah is guaranteed"

c) Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah*, viii, 80

*Jihād* by sea''<sup>(62)</sup>. This reference to the urge indicates the existence of a relevant *ḥadīth*. To the author of this article it appears that this *ḥadīth* of Bukhārī undoubtedly applies to the naval engagement of *Dhātū 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* because of several reasons:

i) 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī's expedition (A.D. 638) in the Persian Gulf during the *Khilāfah* of 'Umar was an inland attack;

ii) Though Cyprus was annexed earlier than this naval engagement, the landing is reported to be peaceful (vide *supra*);

iii) Constantinople was besieged (both by land and sea) as late as 669;

iv) Arādūs was captured without a fight;

v) The European historians and the orientalist clearly state that *Dhātū 'ṣ-Ṣawārī* was the first naval victory of the Muslims worth the name (*yaghīzīna fī'l-bayḥri*);

vi) 'Abd Allah b. -abī Sara, the admiral (*amīru 'l-Baḥr*) and Busr b. -abī Arṭāh, the second in command, were Companions of the Rasūl (A.S.T.)<sup>(63)</sup>;

vii) The services of Busr to the cause of Islam had already 'earned for him a *Khil'at* (robe of honour) and rewards' from 'Umar, the Great<sup>(64)</sup>.

The *ḥadīth* mentioned above is a part of a larger *ḥadīth*; and historicity demands that to establish and proclaim the inspirational persuasions of the *Nabī* (A.S.T.) it must be narrated and thoroughly discussed. Imām Bukhārī says:

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62. Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddama (trans. Rosenthal), ii, 39-40.

63. Busr was one of those who transmitted the Traditions from the Rasūl (A.S.T.). Cf. Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, i, 274 (Bulak).

64. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, ii, 249; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, i, 152-53.



“... Umm Ḥarām told us that she heard the *Nabī* (A.S.T.) of Allah saying: ‘The first army of my *Ummah* which conducts the naval warfare, they (all the participants) are destined (to *al-Jannah*)’. Umm Ḥarām said that she enquired from the Rasūl (A.S.T.) of Allah: ‘Would I be from among them?’ The Rasūl (A.S.T.) replied: ‘You will be from among them’; and then further the *Nabī* (A.S.T.) said: ‘The first army of my *Ummah* which wages war against the City of the Qaysar, there is *maghfirah* for all of them (*lahum*)’; to which she (Umm Ḥarām) asked: ‘And would I be from among them, O Rasūl (A.S.T.) of Allah?’ He replied: No!”<sup>(65)</sup>.

The chain of narrators are: from Ishāq b. Yazīd Damishqī, from Yahyā b. Ḥamza, from Thaur b. Yazīd, from Khalīd b. Ma’dān, from ‘Umayr b. al-Aswad Anṣārī, from Umm Ḥarām.

In the naval engagement of *Dhātu ‘s-Sawārī* Umm Ḥarām died while she was with her husband ‘Ubādah b. Ṣāmit<sup>(66)</sup>.

It is agreed on all hands that in this second *Jihād* (49 a.h./ 669 A.C.), arranged by Mu‘āwīyah against Constantinople (City of the Qaysar/Eastern Ceasar,) his son Yazīd was in command<sup>(67)</sup> and the Companions of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) like Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar, ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abbās and several others participated for the sake of *maghfirah*<sup>(68)</sup>. Ibn Taimīyah, says that this portion of the *ḥadīth*

65. Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ* (Delhi, Mujtabai, 1343), *kitābu ‘l-jihād, bāb mā qīla fī qīlāl ar-Rūm* I, 409: 10.

66. *Ibid*, I, 391; Tabarī, *tārīkh al-mulūk wa al-umam* (Misr, 1358 H.) II, 205; *futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 117.

67. Ibn Hajar, *fathu ‘l-bārī*, I, 41. Cf. Shāh Walī Allah, *sharāḥ tarājim abwāb Bukhārī*, (Hyderabad Deccan, 1368/1949), p. 126.

68. Ibn Taimīyah, *minhāju ‘s-sunnah*, II, 245; 252 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, I, 141; Tabarī, *Annals* (Misr), XIII, 16 Qaṣṣalānī, *sharāḥ Bukhārī*, I, 410.

is also reported by 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, himself a participant in this siege of Constantinople<sup>(69)</sup>.

In its rise to power Islam faced three enemies, two were the so-called monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity and the third Zoroastrianism. With the conquest of Khaybar the Jews turned non-entity by 7 a.h. The fireworshippers and the Christians remained in the field. The Eastern Roman Empire with its powerful capital Constantinople controlled in the beginning of the 7th Century the three continents of Europe (the whole of the south-eastern areas) Asia (Anatolia, Armenia and Syria) and Africa (Egypt and considerable portion of north coast). It also controlled waters of the Black Sea, Marmara, and Mediterranean. In this context the power of Persia pales into insignificance.

Keeping in view the commanding land and sea position of the Byzantium, if, at a later stage, Islam was to face a real danger to its security and prosperity, it could come only from the side of Constantinople. And who could have visualized this non-vulnerable and, thereby, threatening position of Constantinople in the enmity of Christianity towards Islam except the Rasūl (A.S.T.) and beyond him his Allah? Sooner or later Islam was but to enter into a life and death struggle with Constantinople. The events during the Khilāfah of 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Mu'āwīyah bore ample testimony to this historical necessity of self-defence on the part of the Muslims.

Instead of trying to conquer Constantinople Hārūn al-Rashīd entered into an alliance with the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus (802-11) in the year 190/806. Attributing this treaty to the short-sighted indulgence of Hārūn, Amir Ali laments:

“Far better would it have been for the peace of the world

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69. *Minhājju's – sunnah*, II, 245.

and for civilization, had a term then been put on the Byzantine rule and Constantinople being taken by the Saracens<sup>(70)</sup>.

The consciousness of the perpetual looming danger must ever remain alive with the Faithful.

It is clear to every Muslim that the inspirational information of the Rasūl (A.S.T.) is not the irresponsible utterance of the soothsayers or astronomers. Allah asks the Rasūl (A.S.T.) to declare:

“Say (O Muḥammad): I say not unto you (that) I possess the treasures of Allah, nor that I have knowledge of the Unseen; and I say not unto you: Lo! I am an angel. I follow that which is only inspired into me.” (6:50).

Further, “that it is indeed the speech of an illustrious Rasūl . . . nor diviner’s speech – little is it that you remember. . .” (69:40, 41).

There is a famous *ḥadīth*:

مَنْ آتَى كَاهِنًا أَوْ عَزَّازًا فَلَيْسَ مِنَّا

“Which that comes from a diviner or sorcerer is not from us”

*Muhaddithūn* and *Fuqahā* have regarded, in many ways, the above *ahādīth* of *qad aujabū* and *maghfūrūn lahum* as a sound proof of the *nabuwah* of Muḥammad (A.S.T.)<sup>(71)</sup>:

- i) Umm Ḥarām participated in the first *Jihād* and not in the second<sup>(72)</sup>;

70. Amir Ali, *A Short History of Saracens* (London, 1949) p. 250.

71. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (Misr, Sa'ada Press, n.d.), V:II, 80.

72. Al-Qurtubī, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Kitāb al-Isti'āb fī Ma'ārifat al-Aṣḥāb* (*Da'iratu'l-Ma'arif*, Deccan, 1336 II.), II, 716, No. 72 under *Kitābu'n-Nisa'*; and p. 768, No. 18, Umm Ḥarām/ Qubruṣ, *Bāh Kurān al-Nisā'*.

- ii) The *Jihād* in which Umm Ḥarām participated was the first Muslim naval warfare;
- iii) The prediction about the siege of Constantinople came out true;
- iv) Pious Companions like Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar and 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas participated in this *Jihād* because of this very *Ḥadīth*;
- v) The event referred to in the second portion of the *Ḥadīth* occurred subsequent to the death of Umm Ḥarām;
- vi) Ibn 'Umar, a participant in the second *Jihād*, is also its narrator.

Is it not really remarkable that within fourteen years Mu'āwīyah stretched his mighty arm twice against the Eastern Christians and became instrumental in working on the lines laid down in the two *ḥadīthayn*<sup>(73)</sup>? وَأَنَّ الْفَضْلَ بِيَدِ اللَّهِ

The battle seems to have lasted for not more than ten hours, beginning before daybreak and coming to a close in the afternoon. Ṭabarī<sup>(74)</sup> has mentioned that when the battle was over Imām 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd led the 'Aṣr prayers in congregation. No reference has been made to *Fajr* and *Zuḥr* prayers because during the course of the battle prayers might not be offered. It also follows that the Greeks initiated the attack, otherwise, if the Muslims were to start, they would have naturally preferred first to offer *Fajr* prayers and then to attack. On the authority of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Bukhārī reports that the Rasūl (A.S.T.) did not use to initiate the

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73. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *tahzīb al-tahzīb* (Hyderabad, Deccan 1327 a.h.), I, 410, wherein he has quoted a significant opinion of the famous Traditionist al-Muhallab.

74. *Annals*, *op. cit.*, V, 70.

attack (in a battle) but used to wait for the morning breeze and *ṣalāt (fajr)* timings<sup>(75)</sup>.

While going through some of the modern historians<sup>(76)</sup> the impression is created that because the Arabs had sustained sufficient loss it prevented them following up their victory by advancing somewhere else or of taking advantage of the situation and had to retrace their steps immediately. This is contrary to facts. The original authorities are clear on the point that the naval commander 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd stayed on the high seas for a few days and then he returned<sup>(77)</sup>. Hourani goes a step farther and declares that after the battle the Arabs landed on the Lycian coast<sup>(78)</sup>.

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75. *Tajrīd*, p. 583: *kēna idha lam yoqātilū fī awwalīn nahāri intazara ḥattā tahubbu' l-arwāḥ wa taḥḍura al-ṣalawāt*.

76. Brooks, *C.M.H.* ii. 353; *Historian's Hist.* vii. 184; Fahmy, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

77. *Ṭabarī*, v. 70; *Athīr*, iii. 48.

78. Hourani, *op. cit.*, p. 58. If the battle was fought near Alexandria, then where was the sense in landing on the nearby coast, because the whole area belonged to the Muslims? Thus Phoenix waters near Lycia is the correct spot of the battle.

# TRANSLITERATION

Arabic Letter      Transliteration

Short Vowels

أ ب ج د هـ و ز ح ط ق ك ل م ن هـ ي

‘  
b  
t  
th  
j  
h  
kh  
d  
dh  
r  
z  
s  
sh  
s  
d  
t  
z  
‘  
gh  
f  
q  
k  
l  
m  
n  
w  
h  
t  
y

ا  
و  
ي

a  
u  
i

Long Vowels

آ  
ؤ  
ي

ā  
ū  
ī

Diphthongs

أ  
ي  
ي  
ؤ

aw  
ay  
iyy  
uww

## Appendix B

### Observations on spellings :

Makkah	and not Mecca	{the round ti is to be spelled as <u>ha</u> or <u>ta</u>
Madinah	and not Madina	
'Abd al-Rahmān	and not Abdurrahman	
fi' l -Ard	and not fi al-Ard	
<u>Khalīfah</u> Allah	and not <u>Khalīfatu'</u> l -Lah	{ The proper name of Allah should not be divided into syllables
<u>Fiṭrat</u> Allah	and not <u>Fiṭratu'</u> l - Lah	
<u>Hujjat</u> Allah	and not <u>Hujjatu'</u> l -Lah	

### Interchangeable vowels :

Quraish or Qureish or Quraysh  
Zubayr or Zubair  
Aus or Aws

## Appendix C

### INDEX OF QUR'ANIC REFERENCES

(Verse counting *Fathu' r -Raḥmān li Ṭālib Āyāt al-Qur'an* by Fayḍ Allah al- Maqdisī, Beirut, (1323 H)

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## GLOSSARY

- 'Aqīdah*, a conception of religious belief for which corresponding action may not be necessary. Its antonym is *'Amal*, based on *Īman*.
- Dīn*, in Qur'anic terminology it does not mean 'religion'. Religion may signify cult practices of a devotee offered to some unknown super-natural diety/dieties, while *Dīn* stands for 'Complete Code of Life', from cradle to the grave and to the yonder world (*al-Ākhirah*).
- Ḥanīf*, the proper name given by Qur'an to the 'upright' *Dīn* of Abraham, and then one who strives for such a *Dīn*.
- Al-Islām*, 'the total Surrender' to the Will and Command of Allah, and then neither the name of a religion nor does it mean 'peace'.
- Khaiyrāt*, from the Arabic root *khayr*, meaning 'righteousness' or 'goodness', and then it does not mean 'alms-giving'.
- Nabī*, one informed (*li kulli shayin*) through *Waḥī*. Being a passive voice, it cannot mean 'prophet', and then Muḥammad (A.S.T.), the recipient of the Divine Revelation and not one who makes prophecies.
- Rasūl*, *Nabī* himself first acting according to the revelational dictate and then, communicating them to his fellow beings, demands submission to him and to his Creator, and then it does not mean 'messenger'.
- Sadaqah*, an act of 'truthfulness', and then it does not mean 'charity'.
- Shahīd*, from the Arabic root *shahada*, a witness to the manifestation of *al-Ḥaqq* (The absolute Truth), and then "Allah is sufficient as a witness (*shahīd*)" (al-Qur'an, 4:8; 10:29; 13:45; 17:96; 48:28); and then it has not been employed in the sense of '*Maqtūl*'.
- Sharī'ah*, immutable and incontrovertible constitution/law solely based on Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of the *Rasūl* (A.S.T.).
- Sultān*, meaning 'governance', 'power', 'authority', and then being an abstract noun, denoting quality or state, cannot be employed for a person (like 'king', 'ruler').
- Sunnah*, deeds, actions, path adopted, practices undertaken and actual performances in all walks of life, covering '*Ibādāt* and *Mō'amalāt* are the *Sunnah* of the *Rasūl* (A.S.T.). *Sunnah* and *Ḥadīth* are not synonyms. As the Arabic word means, *aḥādīth* are the 'sayings', and then *Sunnah* may form part of the

*Zakāt*,

*Ḥadīth* literature.

(from *Zakka*) an act of yearly purification of the earnings through parting with savings for the sake of Allah, and then it cannot mean 'poor-rate'.

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Ency. of Religion & Ethics (London, 1908)

## INDEX

Allah, Muḥammad (A.S.T.), Makkah, Madinah/Yathrib, Quraish, Qur'an are not listed.

Titles of books, Arabic words and technical terms are given in italics.

Main reference are given in heavy types.

B. stands for 'Banū' (tribe).

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Prof. Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, a Pakistani, was educated at Aligarh Muslim University (M.A. & LL.B., 1945) and Hamburg (Ph.D. in 'Islamkunde', 1957). During the years 1954-57 he enjoyed DAAD and Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung scholarships. He did post-doctoral research at Harvard in Islamic Studies in 1965-66 as a Fulbright scholar. He taught Islamic History and Culture at Sind and Karachi Universities (1949-81), delivered lectures on Pakistan Studies at Culver-Stockton College, Canton and Lidenwood College, St. Charles in U.S.A. and taught Islamic History and Islamic Studies as a Visiting Professor (1977-79) at Bayero (Kano) and Maiduguri Universities in Nigeria. For three years (1973-76) he was Dean, Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Karachi. He has also held the prestigious Professorship of Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi Chair, University of Karachi (1983-88).

He attended the Second Islamic Universities Conference at Rabat in 1976 and in 1977 read a paper at the First World Conference on Muslim Education held in Makkah. He also read papers at the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, at New Dehli (1983), Sirat International Conferences and at CWR Conferences in U.S.A. and Canada.

Four Ph.D. students received their degrees under his guidance.

His publications include Haji and 'Umrāh (1971), Kitābu'r-Rasūl - The Constitutional Dictation of Muḥammad (A.S.T.) (1984); International Implications of Hudaibiyah (1988); and Successors of Mahmud of Ghazna - In Political, Cultural and Administrative Perspective (1988). He has to his credit about 50 articles in English, German, Arabic and Urdu, published in national and international journals, proceedings and newspapers.

Two of his edited books Sharī'ah, Ummah and Khilāfah (1987) and Historical Role of Three Auliya' of South Asia (1987) contain lectures of Halil Inalcik (Turkey), Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ra'uf (Egypt), Isma'il Rājī al-Faruqī (al-Quds/USA) and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (India), arranged by him at Karachi, Islamabad and Lahore, under the auspices of Dr. I.H. Qureshi Chair.

Since 1983 he is teaching Sharī'ah Law to LL.M. classes at S.M. Law College, Karachi. For writing HAJI & 'UMRAH (booklet in English) for Pakistan International Airlines he was provided with a return- ticket for Hajj in 1971.